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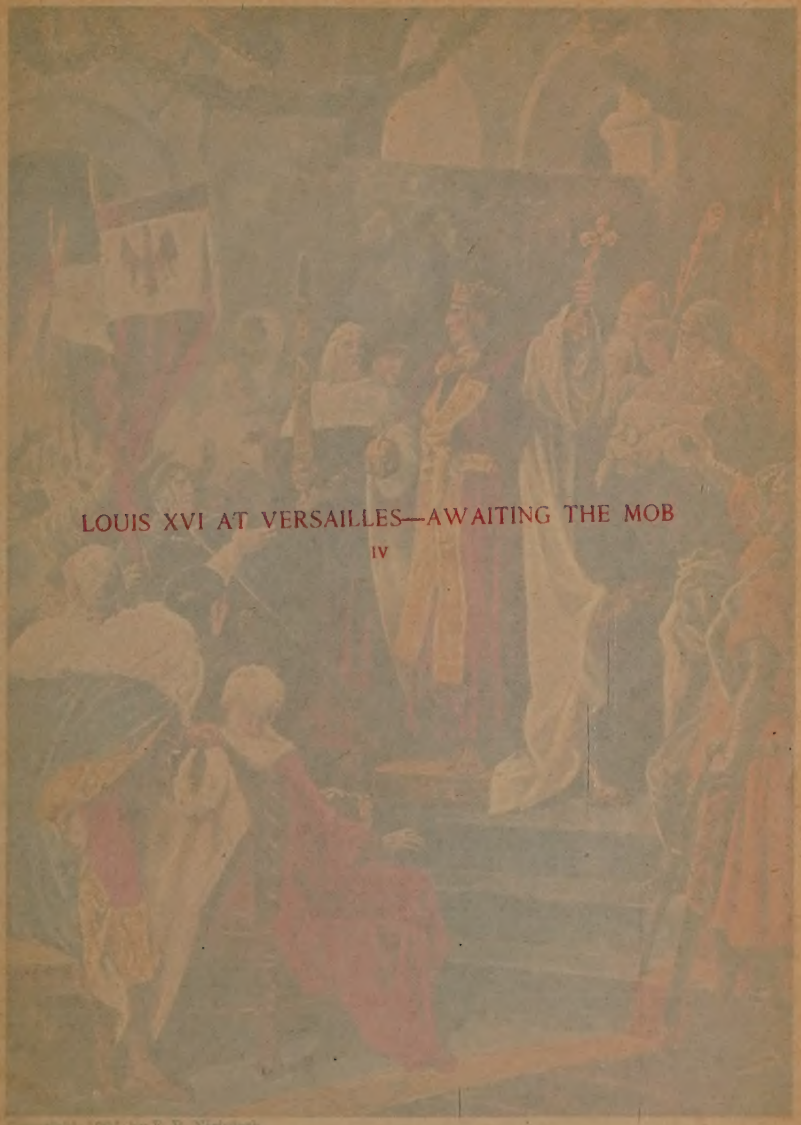

LOUIS XVI AT VERSAILLES—AWAITING THE MOB

IV

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THE CORONATION OF RUDOLF OF HAPSBURG

LOUIS XVI AT VERSAILLES—AWAITING THE MOB

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THE CORONATION OF RUDOLF OF HAPSBURG

THE STORY OF THE GREATEST NATIONS

FROM THE DAWN OF HISTORY
TO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

A COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY, FOUNDED UPON THE LEADING AUTHORITIES, INCLUDING A COMPLETE CHRONOLOGY OF THE WORLD, AND A PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY OF EACH NATION

BY

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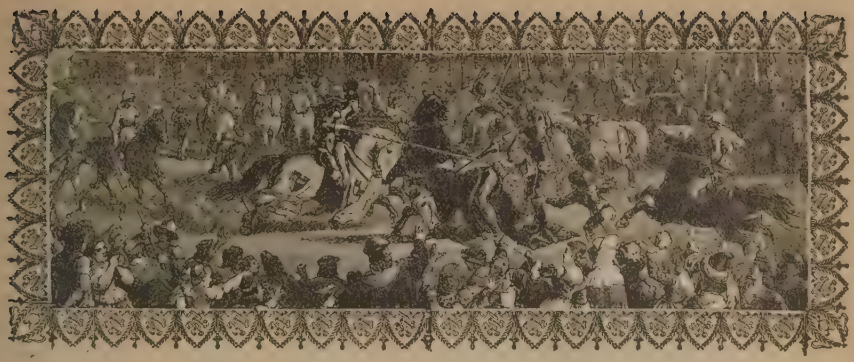
EUROPE IN 1812 AND AFTER THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA



TOURNEY AT THE WEDDING OF FREDERICK AND ISABELLE

THE STORY OF
THE GREATEST NATIONS

MODERN NATIONS—GERMANY

Chapter LVI

THE FALL OF THE HOHENSTAUFENS AND THE DISRUPTION OF GERMANY

THE Hohenstaufens seemed peculiarly fitted to enhance the splendor of the German empire. They were majestic, handsome men, strong of intellect and resolute of purpose. Of almost every one of them it might be said, as of Barbarossa himself, that they seemed born to be kings. Under them the land was well governed, the liberal arts were encouraged, and civilization, rousing from its long sleep, seemed fairly bursting into blossom. But their power became weakened, their empire crippled, and finally they were themselves utterly destroyed, by their long and unhappy contest with the popes.

Barbarossa was succeeded by his son, Henry VI. (1190–1197). Henry, by marriage, extended his dominion over the kingdom of Southern Italy, or Sicily, and he made extensive and able preparations for the conquest of the Eastern Empire and the Holy Land. His ultimate aim seems to have been the subjugation of the entire world; but he was harsh and cruel, rebellion ham-

pered him on every side, and he died in Italy before any of his plans reached fruition.

Henry left a three-year-old son, afterward famous as the Emperor Frederick II. The child had been born in Italy; and with its mother fell into the possession of the great Pope, Innocent III. Innocent at once acknowleged the infant as successor to Henry's rights as King of Sicily, though he made little Frederick accept the kingdom as a vassal of the Church. Innocent then proclaimed himself the boy's guardian, and started him on a thorough and liberal course of education, so that in later years Frederick became recognized as one of the most scholarly men of his time.

It seems probable that the Pope would have liked to make his infant charge Emperor of Germany also; but the law was now firmly established in German minds, that they would have no child to govern them. They therefore passed over Frederick and elected his uncle, Philip "the Gent e," as he was called, the Duke of Swabia, and only surviving son of Barbarossa.

Philip IV. (1197–1208) was originally intended for the Church. He seems to have been a quiet, earnest, fair-minded man, well deserving his popular title of "gentle." He had not sought the empire; on the contrary, he had striven hard to secure it for young Frederick, and only accepted it himself when he found that otherwise it was likely to slip away from his family altogether, and pass to Otto of Saxony, son of Henry the Lion and leader of the Welfs.

Otto did get a sort of election from some of his partisans; and Pope Innocent claimed the right to decide which of the two was really Emperor. Otto, having no other chance of success, readily admitted the Pope's authority, and promised to rule as his vassal; so Innocent decided in his favor. But Philip proved himself well able to uphold the high renown of his family. Strong in the respect and confidence of his people, he gathered his armies, defied the curses which the Pope hurled at him, repeatedly defeated Otto and his partisans, and finally drove his opponent as a fugitive from the country.

Philip was slain in a private quarrel by one of his own partisans, Otto of Wittelsbach, nephew of the Otto whom you will remember as Barbarossa's standard bearer. This younger Otto sought one of Philip's daughters as his wife. His services had been considerable; but his reputation was evil, and the Emperor refused his suit. Disappointed, but seeking the next best thing, Otto demanded a letter recommending him as son-in-law to one of the leading dukes. Philip gave him the letter sealed; the business-like suitor started on his errand, but took the shrewd precaution of breaking the seal and examining his "recommendation." It proved anything but satisfactory, being, in fact, more in the nature of a friendly warning to the prospective father-in-law.

THE DEATH OF PHILIP OF SWABIA

Otto, with the bold, savage fury of the age, turned back and forced his way into the Emperor's presence. Philip, who was playing chess, started back from the intruder, crying, "This is no fit place for fighting!" "No," said Otto, "but it is a fit place for punishing a traitor." He struck down the unprepared Emperor with his sword, fought his way out through the bewildered attendants, gained his horse, and escaped.

Otto of Saxony, or Otto IV. (1208–1214), was the man who most profited by the unexpected murder. He at once reasserted his claim to the throne. There was no one now to oppose him, and he was generally accepted as Emperor. Philip's unhappy little daughter Beatrice threw herself at the new Emperor's feet and demanded vengeance for her murdered father. The Emperor, seeking the friendship of the Hohenstaufen faction, sent in pursuit of the assassin, had him executed, and as soon as Beatrice was old enough wedded her and made her Empress.

The King of France had once ridiculed Otto's pretensions to the throne, and said to him sneeringly, "If you are ever Emperor, I will give you Orleans, Chartres, and Paris." These were three of the chief towns of France, and Otto now sent to remind the king of his promise. The French monarch sent answer that by the three names he had meant three puppies now grown into three old and toothless hounds, which he sent to the Emperor. The present of a poor dog was considered grossly insulting in those days, so Otto found himself involved in an unpleasant quarrel.

A much more serious one arose with Pope Innocent. You will remember that Otto had sworn submission to the Pope; but when he became actually Emperor, the necessities of his position soon forced him into the same defiant attitude as the Hohenstaufens, toward the papacy. He was excommunicated in 1210; and Pope Innocent called on the German princes to declare Otto deposed, and to elect as Emperor the Pope's young ward, Frederick, the son of Henry VI. The partisans of the Hohenstaufens were only too glad to obey; and the next year Otto, who had been squabbling with Innocent in Italy, hastened back to Germany with a civil war upon his hands.

Here begins Frederick's romantic career. He was only seventeen, but because of his wit, his eloquence, his learning, and his manly beauty, the courtly Italians had already named him "the wonder of the world." He had passed his youth in his quiet little court of Sicily, talking philosophy with learned scholars, or chanting soft love poems with passionate southern minstrels. Now the fiery energy of his race flashed up within him at the thought of winning for himself the empire of his father and grandfather.

Almost alone he started for Germany in 1212. The Milanese would have barred his passage; but with fierce eloquence he roused the people of a

neighboring town to his assistance, and cut his way through the opposing troops. He crossed the Alps disguised as a pilgrim, with scarce sixty men in his train. Otto was waiting for him with an army before the Swabian city of Constance. Frederick, warned but undaunted, entered Constance almost alone; and the loyal Swabians, delighted to have a Hohenstaufen once more among them, welcomed him with joyous shouts, closed the city gates in Otto's face, and defied him. Unable to storm the town, Otto retreated down the Rhine. Frederick followed, his forces growing like a snowball as he advanced. Everywhere he was received with open arms, his own brilliancy contributing as much as the name of his beloved grandfather to his universal welcome.

Otto lost the empire almost without a struggle. His friends in Saxony stood by him, and as the French king had allied himself with Frederick, Otto joined the people of Holland in an attack on France. He was completely defeated by the French in the battle of Bouvines, 1214. Shorn of his power, he retreated to Cologne, where he could not even pay the debts his wife had contracted. So he and she fled separately and secretly from the city to his native domain of Brunswick, where he lived in seclusion till his death a few years later.

Frederick II. (1215–1250) had been already declared Emperor in 1211, but after the battle of Bouvines he was again elected, and was formally crowned at Aix in 1215. The imperial banner which had been captured by the French at Bouvines was sent to Frederick with great ceremony and elaborate courtesies. The imperial crown and other regalia he did not get until Otto sent them to him from his death-bed.

The new Emperor had promised his guardian and preceptor, Innocent, to go upon a crusade; but Innocent died, and Frederick found one reason after another for delaying his voyage. By 1220 he had firmly established his authority in Germany, and after that was seldom seen in the land. He was far more an Italian than a German, and always displayed a marked preference for the southern land of his birth. He spent his time either fighting or revelling in Italy, and really his later life belongs more appropriately to the story of that country.

He conquered the Arabs, or Saracens, who held part of his Silician kingdom; and, finding these Mahometans a learned and highly civilized race, he made friends with them, established them in peace within his domains, and even formed regiments of them for his armies. Christianity had not at that time reached the height of looking tenderly and with toleration on other religions, and Frederick's attitude toward these Arabs gave grave offence to many Christians, who declared that he must be secretly a Mahometan himself. The popes became more and more insistent about his promised crusade, and at

FREDERICK II. AT HIS COURT IN SICILY

last he vowed positively to go within two years. By the end of that time he had gathered a large army around him, and made a start. But the plague had broken out among his followers, and three days later his ships returned to port, Frederick saying he was very ill. Perhaps he was, but he had delayed his expedition so many times that the Pope, Gregory XI., promptly excommunicated him.

Then began the remarkable war of words between these two able men. Frederick, the wit and scholar, issued one public letter after another to the princes and people of Europe, denying all the charges against himself, calling the Pope Antichrist, ridiculing his pretensions, comparing the present wealth and hauteur of the Church with the poverty and humility of the Apostles, and inviting all Europe to unite in restoring to Christianity its ancient spirit of lowliness and peace. Gregory was equally savage and bitter in his public denunciations of the Emperor. Frederick was accused of saying that there had been three great impostors: Moses, the deceiver of the Jews; Mahomet, of the Arabs, and Jesus, of the Christians.

Despite this quarrel, Frederick undertook his crusade the next year, 1228, saying that he went because of his pledged word and not because he cared what the Pope might say or do. Gregory, deeply indignant that a man under the curse of the Church should presume to wear the holy cross of the crusaders, sent word to the Christians in the East to give Frederick no assistance. Nevertheless he accomplished more than any crusade since the first had done, making friends with the sultans of the East, and winning from them by diplomacy rather than force an agreement that Jerusalem and all the territory around should belong to the Christians. The Pope laid the city of Jerusalem under an interdict while Frederick was within its walls. No services of the church could be performed there, and Frederick could find no bishop to place upon his head the holy crown which was the symbol of the kingship of the city. So he took the crown from its resting place with his own hands, and performed the ceremony of coronation himself. Then he returned to Italy.

Gregory had raised an army to strip him of his possessions there; but the papal soldiers proved no match for Frederick's returning veterans. The Pope made peace perforce, removed the ban of excommunication from the Emperor, and no longer warred openly against him.

One most important historical event was due to Frederick's sojourn in the East. While there he formed a friendship with Hermann of Salza, the chief of a body of German knights who were bound together in a brotherhood called the Teutonic Order, which pledged them to devote their lives to fighting against the heathen. Hermann had found that he and his order were gaining little ground in the East, so he arranged with Frederick that the entire

brotherhood should remove to Germany, where along the Baltic Sea there were still plenty of heathen Sclavs and Finns upon whom the brothers could execute their religious intentions.

It is here that the name of Prussia comes into German history. The Prussians, or Bo-russi, which is the earlier form of the name, were a Sclavic race, probably a branch of the Russians They dwelt in the country around where the seaport city of Dantzig now lies. In the course of centuries the original Prussians were practically exterminated by the Teutonic knights and other energetic converters who came to their aid. A race of German colonists settled the land; but the ancient name clung, and Prussia, the wild border district of the Teutonic knights, has in our day become the leading state of Germany.

A new Eastern peril threatened Europe at this time. The Tartar races, which had followed Attila, once more burst forth under the terrible chieftain Genghis Khan. He conquered Asia, and his descendants, swarming westward, seized upon Russia, and finally appeared on the German borders about 1240. We are told that they brought with them "dragons which spit fire and vomited an intolerable smoke." As gunpowder was already known to the Chinese, it seems probable that we encounter here some primeval form of cannon, the first ever heard in Europe.

There was no united effort to resist the Tartar hosts. Frederick was busy in Italy; the German princes were quarrelling as usual among themselves. The citizens of Breslau made a brave resistance to the invading hordes, and when their city was no longer defensible, they set fire to it with their own hands. The survivors, retreating to a little island in the Oder River, continued their resistance. Meanwhile, the nobles of the surrounding districts of Silesia gathered all their forces under the lead of their duke, Henry the Pious. With less than thirty thousand men, he endeavored to stay the advance of more than five times that number of Tartars at Leignitz. The fight lasted two days. Henry's Polish allies fled; he himself was slain, and the unyielding mass of German troops literally annihilated.

But the invasion was checked. The remaining Tartars had no desire to penetrate further into "the land of the iron-clad men." They withdrew, and turning southward, ravaged Hungary. Here they were met at some unknown spot by the Emperor's sons, Conrad and Enzio. Vast numbers of the marauders were slain, and they were driven back into Russia. It was the last Tartar invasion of Western Europe. By fighting so much among themselves, the Germans had at last become masters of the art, and risen safely above the level of the half-clad, undisciplined, and irregular Tartar hordes.

Frederick was in Germany only once during his later years. His eldest

THE ARREST OF THE CHILDREN OF QUEEN HELENE

son, Henry, whom he had made regent of his northern domain, rebelled against him in 1235. For the second time in his life Frederick came north over the Alps in haste and almost alone. His mere presence sufficed to check the rebellion. The populace, still loyal to him, rallied everywhere to his side. Henry, defeated without a battle, entreated pardon and was forgiven. But the treacherous rascal was caught trying to poison his father, and was thrown into prison, where he died some years later.

Meanwhile, being in Germany, the Emperor prepared to celebrate there his third wedding. He had been rather unfortunate in his marriages. His first was to a princess of Aragon, when he was a boy of fifteen in Sicily. A plague suddenly broke out in the city during the festivities. The bride's brother rose from the wedding banquet, staggered to the doorway, and fell dead. Others of the feasters were stricken where they sat, and the young bride and groom fled in fear. Frederick's second wife was Iolanthe, heiress of the kingdom of Jerusalem, from whom came such claim as he had to crown himself the Holy City's king. But Iolanthe died at the birth of her first son, Conrad. So now Frederick had a third wedding, and took for his bride the English princess, Isabelle.

The ceremony was held at Worms, and never had been seen such a gorgeous display. All the poets of the time sang of its wonders, of the dark Saracens in Frederick's train, the jewels and treasures and strange animals he had brought from the East. Seventy-five princes and twelve thousand knights were at the wedding banquet. A great diet of the empire was afterward held at Mainz, where a peace from private war was again proclaimed, together with many other reforms. But these were mere empty words. The Emperor's interest lay wholly in Italy; he had no intention of staying in Germany to see his commands carried out. The nobles, long unused to authority, gave him only lip-service, escorted him to the Alps with pleasant words, and returned—to do as they pleased.

The next year, in 1237, Frederick overthrew a league of the Italian cities, winning a decisive battle over them at Cortenuovo, largely by the help of his Saracen troops. We must regard this as the highest period of his power. His court in Sicily was the centre toward which all Europe turned. Around him gathered the most renowned poets, the most beautiful women, and the most learned scholars. He was a poet himself, penning soft Italian love sonnets; he spoke six languages, and wrote a treatise on falconry. The splendor and, alas! something of the frivolous wickedness of that Sicilian court, are still remembered throughout Europe.

The final struggle between Frederick and Pope Gregory seems to have begun when the Emperor sought to make his much-loved but illegitimate son

Enzio King of Sardinia. Gregory claimed Sardinia as a papal fief, and once more roused the Italian cities to rebellion. In 1241, he summoned a great convocation of the dignitaries of the Church to delare Frederick deposed, hoping that such a council might act with more weight than he alone. Enzio seized the fleet which was bearing many of the churchmen to Rome, and thus broke up the council. Gregory died the same year. The next Pope, Innocent IV., fled from Rome to France and summoned a council there, where Frederick could not interfere. By this council the Emperor was once more solemnly declared excommunicated and deposed.

"Bring me my crowns," said Frederick scornfully, "that I may see which one I have lost." They were all brought before him, seven of them: the imperial diadem of Rome, the royal crown of Germany, the iron one of Lombardy, with those of Sicily, Jerusalem, Sardinia, and Burgundy. The Emperor set each one in succession upon his head. "They are all here," he said; "and much blood shall be shed before they take one from me."

Much blood *was* shed. The hour of the Hohenstaufens' doom had struck. In Germany, where Frederick's eldest surviving son Conrad was regent, a faction of the bishops and princes obeyed the command of the council, and declaring the Emperor deposed, elected Henry of Thuringia to succeed him. When Henry was overthrown by Conrad, they nominated William, Count of Holland, to take his place. The land was desolated with civil war. An old chronicle says: "When the Emperor was condemned by the Church, robbers made merry over their booty. Ploughshares were beaten into swords, reaping-hooks into lances. Men went everywhere with flint and steel, setting in a blaze whatsoever they found."

In Italy matters were even worse. Enzio was captured by the citizens of Bologna. They refused all ransom for him, and the young man of only twenty-three, said to have been the fairest, brightest, and most brilliant of his brilliant race, languished for twenty-two years in a dungeon until he died. Friends fell away from Frederick on every side. Only his first little kingdom, Sicily, remained faithful. His chancellor, the chosen friend of thirty years, was implicated in a plot to poison him. Frederick sought desperately to make peace with the Church, offering to go on another crusade and promising never to return. But all his overtures were sternly rejected. He raised another army, resolved on revenge, but died worn out and despairing, in 1250.

His son, Conrad, was proclaimed Emperor by his partisans as Conrad IV. (1250–1254). But he was driven out of Germany by William of Holland and forced to take refuge in Sicily, where he soon died. Manfred, the last of Frederick's sons, maintained himself heroically in Sicily against all comers. He tried to make peace with the Church, but the popes were grimly resolute

TANNHAUSER CURSED BY THE POPE

that no member of "that hateful brood of vipers," the Hohenstaufens, should survive. Pope Urban IV. offered the sovereignty of Sicily to Charles of Anjou, brother of the French king.

So French troops entered Italy, and Manfred, finding himself betrayed by some of his own soldiers, with defeat inevitable, sought and found a heroic death upon the field of battle at Benevento, 1266. His wife, the beautiful Grecian princess, Helene of Cypress, fled with their infant children, but she was betrayed to Charles. Her babes were, by his order, taken from her and placed in a dungeon. One of them, a girl, was afterward released; but the three boys were kept imprisoned till they grew old and died.

There remained only one of all the Hohenstaufens, a child called by the Italians Conradin, which means "little Conrad." He was a son of Conrad IV., and when only sixteen strove to win back his family inheritance, leading a little band of adventurers from Germany to attack Charles of Anjou. He was defeated, betrayed into his enemy's hands, and condemned to a public execution in Naples in 1268. Every one was touched by his youth and gallant bearing; Charles' own courtiers entreated mercy for the lad. But Charles was inflexible, and Conradin met his fate with the dauntless valor of his race. He was the "last of the Hohenstaufens."

We must pause to look for a moment at what this line of emperors had done, and failed to do, for Germany. It was their personal character which made them popular. They never labored for the land, as the earlier monarchs had done. Indeed, they constantly subordinated its interests to those of Italy. Good, they had truly accomplished in fostering civilization. Knighthood under them was in its fullest flower. The artisans and craftsmen of Germany became celebrated throughout the world. The marvellous Gothic cathedrals began to rise. Painting became once more a fine art, and coloring in oils was invented. Systems of law were formed, including the Saxon and the Swabian code. The wandering poets or minnesingers of the land grew famous. It was at this time that the Siegfried legends took their final form, as did other legends which Wagner has made immortal in his operas.

One of these wandering bards was the Knight Tannhäuser, of whom legend tells that he was enticed into the mountain of Venus and there detained for seven years amid all manner of sensuous delights. At last his conscience stirred within him, and he fled from the enchantress, and seeking Pope Urban IV. at Rome, besought the Church's pardon. Urban, however, turned from him in horror, declaring that the culprit had as little chance of God's mercy as his dead papal staff had of becoming green wood again. The next morning the Pope's staff had indeed blossomed and borne green leaves, whereupon he sent in haste for Tannhäuser. But the bard had left the court, and was never seen again.

Another famous singer of the times was Wolfram von Eschenbach, who wrote the song of Parzifal, the legend of the Holy Grail. A legendary gathering of all these great minstrels was held at the Wartburg, the court of Hermann of Thuringia, where, in 1207, they had a great poetical contest, the loser to sacrifice his life as well as his fame. Walther of Vogelweide and Henry of Ofterdingen were the champions. The latter lost, and would have been slain had he not crouched at the feet of Hermann's wife, and sought protection under her mantle. Walther of Vogelweide was thus declared greatest of the minnesingers. On Walther's death, he left his estate to his fellow minstrels, the birds, and these are still daily fed with bread in honor of the poet's memory. He was the friend and song-champion of Frederick II. All of these poets lived in the early part of the thirteenth century, and they left no successors. Minstrelsy as well as the other arts, died with the Hohenstaufens.

At the extinction of the Hohenstaufens Germany sank to a depth of disunion, misgovernment, and anarchy, the worst which has ever devastated that much-enduring land. You will notice that after Barbarossa's days there had been no great dukes to lead the rebellions against the emperors. This was because of the persistent policy of the Hohenstaufens in dividing one dukedom after another among different claimants. Thus the death of Conrad IV., instead of leaving four or five great independent duchies to dispute for the empire, left two hundred and seventy-six or more little separate states in Germany, each clamorously assertive of its rights and privileges against the others. One hundred and sixteen of these principalities were under priestly rulers; about a hundred belonged to dukes, princes, counts, or other nobles; while over sixty were free cities, little republics, owing allegiance to no one but the Emperor.

These cities began to rival the Italian ones in their independence, wealth, and power. The northern towns, under the leadership of Lubeck, formed a mighty league, called the Hansa. It was first formed by Lubeck and Hamburg in 1241, and was soon joined by Bremen and the other seaports. At first this was only a commercial arrangement; but in the dark days that followed, the Hansa, driven by necessity, organized armies, owned fleets, punished intermeddling nobles, and even conducted important and successful foreign wars, upon its own authority and under its own flag. Sixty Rhine cities, knowing that they had no mercy to expect at the hands of the nobles, formed a similar league under the lead of Cologne. The hopes of Germany, the promise of future progress and civilization, which had seemed perishing along with the Hohenstaufens, rose once more on firm and sure foundations with the growth of these leagues of stalwart city republics.

THE BATTLE OF THE MINSTRELS

RUDOLF AT THE BATTLE OF MARCHFIELD

Chapter LVII

THE GREAT INTERREGNUM AND RUDOLF OF HAPSBURG

AFTER Conrad's death, in 1254, no German prince could be found eager to be called emperor and attempt the government of those two hundred and seventy-six little, separate hornets' nests. William of Holland did indeed claim the position, but nobody paid any serious attention to him. He had not even the real imperial crown, which was retained in Italy; and when his cheap substitute for it was accidentally destroyed by fire on his wedding night, he and his bride nearly perishing with it, the nation only laughed at him, and made a jest of his discomfort.

William finally got into a quarrel with the Frisians in his own county of Holland. While crossing a bog in his heavy armor, he and his horse stuck fast in the mud; and being unable to extricate either himself or the beast, he was overtaken by some peasants, who slew him for his armor, without knowing who he was. So that was the end of his claim to the throne.

The electors made no hurry to place a new emperor above them. Some of them befooled the wealthy Count of Henneburg, extracting large sums of money from him under promise of electing him, without apparently having the faintest intention of doing so. They drew still richer bribes from two ambitious foreigners. Alfonso, King of Castile, in Spain, thought he would like to be called Emperor, and sent, it is said, twenty thousand silver marks to the electors. Then Richard of Cornwall, brother of the English king and

possessed of the fabulously wealthy Cornwall tin mines, began also bidding for the bauble. It is not necessary to accept literally the old statement that he sent thirty-two wagon loads of gold into Germany. Still his arguments must have been weighty, for such electors as had not already voted for the Spaniard, hastened to cast their votes for the Englishman.

So there were two emperors instead of one. Alfonso never came to Germany to be crowned, though having paid for the title he used it, signing himself "Emperor" on his public documents. Richard came to Germany and had a formal coronation at Aix. He was received everywhere with open arms, and made welcome—so long as his money lasted. Then he returned to England, and contented himself, as Alfonso did, with being saluted as "Emperor" at home.

This period, from 1254 to 1273, is called in German histories the *Great Interregnum.* It has been aptly termed the midnight of the darkness of the Middle Ages. Germany, the principal state of Europe, was utterly without government. Each little lord acted as seemed best to himself. It was the time of the robber barons. Every one who could, built himself a strong tower, and lived in it by rapine, and in utter lawlessness. When smoked out of his hole, he died like a wolf, biting to the last. Only the towns fought for order, and even they were distracted by petty brawls within their walls and by quarrels with their bishops and feudal lords without.

The French kings, who had been slowly growing in power, began seizing the fairest German provinces on their border line. One after another these were incorporated with France, and no man interfered to protect the empire. Is it any wonder that the distracted German people looked back with longing to the days of Barbarossa?

By 1273 the condition of the land had become so woeful that the Pope himself interfered to check its downfall. Indeed, he had good cause, for German anarchy had spread to Italy. The merciless Duke Werner and the "Free Companies" of German robbers harried the southern land from end to end. Pope Gregory X. sent stern, and, perhaps, rather frightened, word to the northern bishops and dukes, that if they did not immediately select a real emperor, who could keep order, he would appoint one for them. This may be accepted as the end of the papal wars, which had destroyed two lines of emperors. Henceforward Pope and Emperor each recognized the necessity of the other, and, though differences still existed between them, neither cared to drive the other to extremes.

At Pope Gregory's command the Germans elected Count Rudolf of Hapsburg. He was the founder of the renowned Hapsburg family, which finally did what all the earlier imperial lines had failed to do—made the

RUDOLF OF HARPSBURG RECEIVES NEWS OF HIS ELECTION AS EMPEROR

empire hereditary in their own line. It is only within the past century that the descendants of the Hapsburgs have ceased to be emperors of Germany, and they are emperors of Austria to-day.

Rudolf of Hapsburg becomes, therefore, a highly important personage in history, a prominence which his character and abilities well deserve. He was not one of the great nobles, and his election had been mainly secured by his cousin Frederick of Hohenzollern—an oddly noteworthy fact, since the Hohenzollerns were one day to become kings of Prussia, the rivals, and in our own times, the conquerors of the Hapsburgs.

The ruins of Rudolf's ancient castle of Hapsburg still exist between Basel and Zurich, in what is now Switzerland, but was then part of the Swabian duchy. The counts of Hapsburg ruled over only a tiny territory there, though Rudolf, through his strength and justice, had come to be looked upon as a sort of governor and protector of the neighboring towns. He was at war with Basel and besieging that city, when the unexpected word of his election as emperor reached him. At first he refused to believe his cousin, who himself hurried to Rudolf with the news. When convinced by the imperial messenger, Rudolf's first official act was to send word of his election to Basel. With the message, "I am now the stronger," he offered the citizens more liberal terms of peace than they had dared to expect. His proposals were eagerly accepted, and his late foes were the first to offer prayers for his prosperous reign.

Pope Gregory came as far as Lausanne to meet him, and the Emperor, kneeling at the churchman's feet, vowed obedience to him. Rudolf had always been a sincerely religious man, a fact which naturally influenced the bishops in his election. Indeed, it is told of him that once in early life he encountered a priest who was struggling up the rugged mountain paths around Hapsburg, bearing a chalice to administer the last sacraments to a dying man. Rudolf dismounted from his horse, insisted on the exhausted priest riding in his stead, and guided the holy man to his destination. On parting, the count presented the horse to the Church, saying: "The beast has carried Christ and his minister; it can never be used again for lesser purposes."

Rudolf never went to Rome to be crowned emperor there. He was wont to explain his refusal and also his submission to Gregory with the shrewd comment: "Rome is like the lion's den in the fable. I see the footsteps of many emperors pointing toward it, but of none returning home."

When elected emperor, Rudolf was fifty-five years old. All his contemporaries unite in representing him as a pattern knight, strong without cruelty, wise without treachery, merciful and generous without weakness or folly. He was tall and thin, with a great hooked nose, and a face that seemed very pale to the ruddy Germans. Profoundly earnest of look and of purpose, this man, who

had undertaken the colossal task of lifting Germany from its pit of despair, was the one to succeed, if to any such ability were given.

At his solemn coronation in Charlemagne's cathedral at Aix, it was found that the imperial sceptre was missing. There was sudden wavering and doubt. Was a coronation legal without that famous symbol of power? Rudolf seized the crucifix from the altar and held it forth. "I will govern with this instead," he said. "It confirms us heaven; it is surely enough to confirm us our little parcels of earth."

The most powerful vassal of the empire was not present at the coronation. This was Ottocar, King of Bohemia. He was not really a German at all, but of Bohemian, that is, of Sclavic blood. During the wild days of the Interregnum he had seized and united under his rule all the eastern provinces of the empire from the Baltic to the Adriatic. Not only Bohemia, but the lands to the north of it, and most of what is now the Austrian Empire, were in his grasp. He had hoped to be elected emperor himself—in fact, the dignity seems to have been promised him by the venal electors. But they feared his power; and they feared also a revolt of their own people, if they thus betrayed the German Empire into the hands of a Sclav.

Foiled of this ambition, Ottocar apparently planned to erect his domains into a great independent Sclavic kingdom. Once, when Ottocar had led a crusading army against the Prussians in the north, Rudolf, the "poor count," fought in his train. Ottocar was fond of referring to the Emperor, therefore, as his domestic. When Rudolf summoned him again and again to appear at court and perform the neglected homage for his lands, Ottocar only said: "What does the fellow want? Have I not paid him his wages?"

But the German nobles of Austria, a province founded, as you will remember, to protect Germany from the Sclavs and Hungarians, were impatient under the Sclavic yoke, and themselves started the revolt against Ottocar's insolence. They called the Emperor to help them, though, indeed, Rudolf had little to offer except his own good sword and brave leadership. It is said the imperial treasury at the time contained just five bad shillings.

Rudolf, however, took command of such forces as the Austrians could raise; and the revolt against Ottocar soon became so general that he submitted almost without opposition, surrendered all his lands except Bohemia and Moravia, and came to do homage for those. He dressed in his most gorgeous robes; his entire figure blazed with rich jewels, but Rudolf received him in the simple clothes he always wore. "The Bohemian has often laughed at my poor coat," he said; "now my poor coat shall laugh at him."

Ottocar took the Emperor's careless garb as an insult. Or, according to another account, he had stipulated that his submission should be made in

RUDOLF OF HAPSBURG AND THE HOLY PRIEST

private; but just as he was kneeling before Rudolf the walls of the imperial tent fell apart and revealed him to the whole court, which was drawn up to witness his act of homage. At any rate, he left the imperial presence in a rage, and hurriedly gathering his armies invaded Germany.

The great lords, already jealous of Rudolf's growing power, left him to shift for himself, and it was with very inferior forces that he encountered the Bohemians near Vienna (1278). The battle was long and doubtful. Rudolf was severely wounded, but persisted in his desperate attack, until at last the Bohemians fled. Ottocar was taken prisoner and, despite Rudolf's effort to save him, slain by the revengeful Germans over whom he had tyrannized.

Rudolf, with his usual shrewdness, set to work to make secure his personal power over the lands he had conquered. He married one of his daughters to Ottocar's son, and established the young man on the throne of Bohemia. Most of Ottocar's more southerly dominions were conferred on Rudolf's own son, as Duke of Austria. It was thus that Austria, Styria, and Carniola, became hereditary in the Hapsburg family.

It was not until 1282 that the Emperor returned to the Rhine. He then proclaimed a "land peace" throughout the empire, forbidding robbery and private wars. Of course, this law was not everywhere obeyed, but it had considerable effect; and Rudolf promptly followed it with sterner measures. In one year he destroyed upward of seventy robber castles in Thuringia alone; such of the owners as he could catch were hanged. Several members of his court urged him to spare one of these robbers as being a noble of exalted rank. "You are mistaken," said Rudolf; "he is not a noble. The true nobleman honors virtue, loves justice, practises honor, and defends the helpless."

It is difficult to conceive a more striking contrast than that between the magnificent Hohenstaufens on the one hand, with their imperial splendor, haughty command, and gracious condescension; and on the other this simple, shrewd, homely man, who was their successor, who could receive Ottocar "in an old gray cloak, seated on a three-legged wooden stool," and of whom his courtiers even made the jest that he darned his own clothes.

He certainly dressed no better than his common soldiers. One story of him is that he went into an old woman's hut to warm himself by her fire, and she, never dreaming who he was, ordered him out as a lazy, good-for-nothing, old trooper. He admitted to her that he had become worn out fighting for "that fellow Rudolf." But when he began finding fault with the Emperor, the good mother, unable to get rid of him in any other way, threw a pail of water on her fire, so that the smoke and chill drove him choking and gasping out of doors.

When on a hurried march with his army, Rudolf would pluck a turnip from the fields, and peel and eat it before his men that they might see he fared no better than they. His justice has become a proverb among the Germans. After his death his people said of him: "He was the best warrior of his time. He was the fairest man who ever held the office of judge."

A chronicler of those days writes: "His name spread terror among the evil barons, and gladness among the people. Light rose from darkness; prosperity from desolation." The house of Hapsburg has cause, indeed, to look with pride upon its founder.

When Rudolf died at the age of seventy-four, his son Albert, Duke of Austria, expected to succeed him on the imperial throne. You will remember that Albert had been given most of the possessions of Ottocar of Bohemia, and he now ruled also in the Tyrol and Switzerland. But the same reason which had led the princes to refuse the empire to Ottocar, now debarred Albert: he was too powerful. They wanted an emperor who should be subordinate to them. So they chose Adolf, the Count of Nassau.

Adolf of Nassau (1292–1298) never exercised much real authority. His main aim seems to have been to enrich his own family, as Rudolf had so shrewdly done. But he had neither Rudolf's wisdom nor opportunity, and only entangled himself in endless quarrels and petty wars. Finally he was deposed by the very men who had elected him, on the charge of having brought the empire not peace, but greater confusion. Such imperial power as existed, however, was in Adolf's possession; nor was he likely to surrender it without a struggle. Naturally the nobles turned in their need to Albert of Austria, and offered him the throne, as the man best able to unmake the emperor whom they had preferred before him. Albert gladly accepted the empire, defeated Adolf, and slew him. The ancient writers describe the decisive battle as if it were a single combat between the two ferocious emperors, in which Albert, by a lucky sword-stroke, finally overthrew his equally valiant and determined rival.

Albert of Austria (1298–1308) proved a harsh and evil emperor, upheld only by the wealth and strength of his own possessions, not by the good will of the people. He had but one eye, having lost the other in a remarkable manner, which should make us thankful that doctors know more now than they did in Albert's day. He was ill, and his doctors, suspecting that he had been poisoned, hung him up by the heels and tore out one of his eyes, that the poison might drain out through the empty socket.

It was during Albert's reign that the Swiss provinces first asserted their independence of Germany. Albert claimed a twofold authority over them as Emperor and as head of the house of Austria. The governors he set over

THE ESCAPE OF WILLIAM TELL

them ruled so harshly that three Alpine provinces finally rebelled against him in both of his capacities, and declared themselves independent of the empire. The povinces were Schwyz, Uri, and Unterwalden. To their uprising belongs the legend of William Tell, which may very possibly be true, and is, at any rate, an interesting and stirring story.

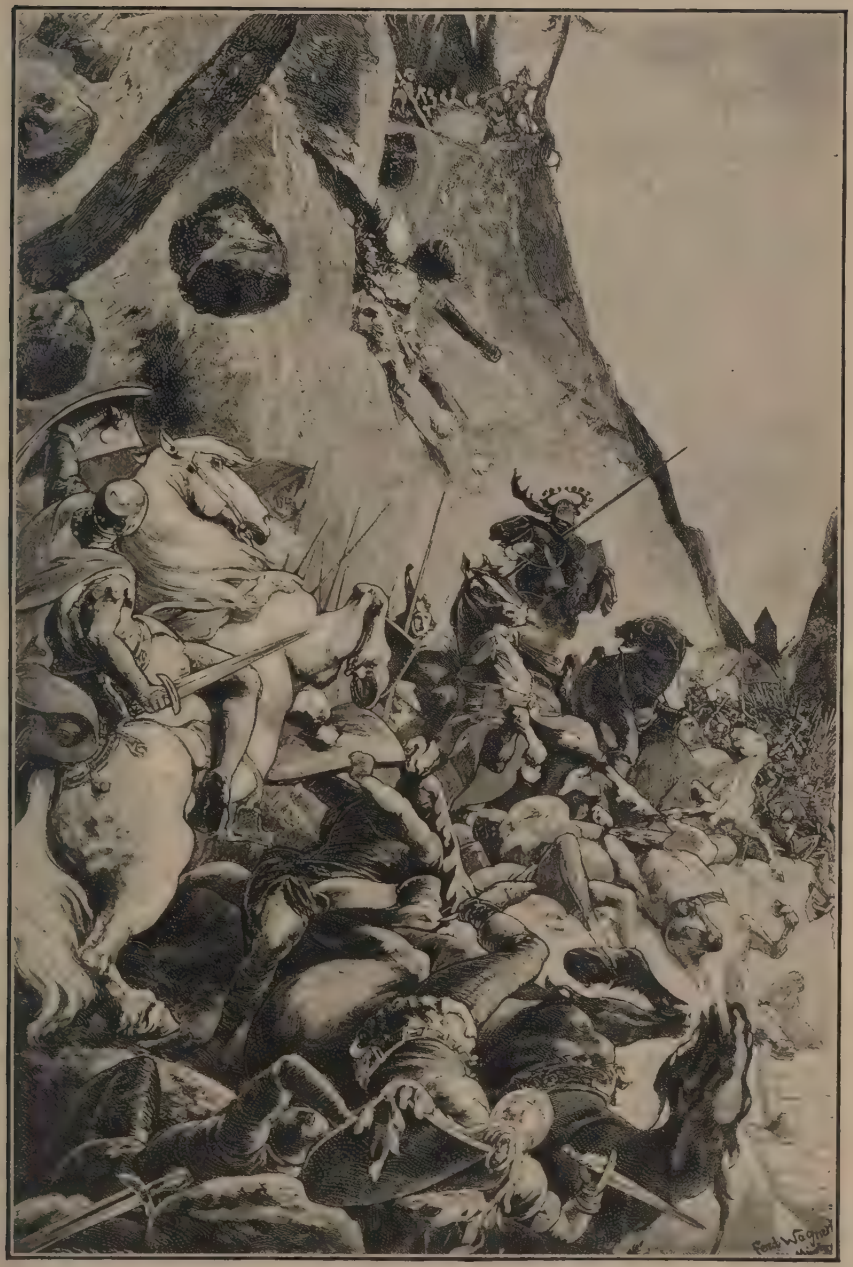
Gessler, one of Albert's governors, set up his hat, or perhaps the Austrian ducal cap, upon a pole and commanded all the peasants to salute it. Tell refused, and being a noted archer, was commanded, by way of punishment, to pierce with an arrow an apple placed upon the head of his six-year-old son. The brilliant feat was successfully performed, but in embracing his son Tell dropped another arrow, which he had concealed about his person. When Gessler demanded the purpose of this second arrow, the desperate peasant answered: "To kill thee, tyrant, had I slain my son." Tell was bound and placed in Gessler's boat, to be carried across the mountain lake to a dungeon. But on the way a sudden storm rose, and Tell, as an expert boatman, was released to save them all from drowning. He jumped ashore with his bow, escaped, and afterward from a secret ambush shot Gessler with the very arrow first prepared against him. The flame of revolt, once kindled, spread from valley to valley, and everywhere the Austrian governors were expelled or slain.

Before Albert could take any decisive steps against the rebels he was killed by his own nephew, John, a youth of nineteen, called for the crime John the Parricide. Albert had withheld from John the castle and lands of Hapsburg, the original home of the family and John's rightful inheritance. The young man, after repeatedly demanding his property, plotted against his uncle's life. The Emperor was artfully separated from his train in crossing a river, and then John and his accomplices hewed their victim down with swords. They fled, leaving Albert dying where he lay. A single terrified peasant woman watched the last moments of the dying Emperor, holding his head on her bosom, and striving to stanch with her hair the fast-ebbing blood.

Some years later, 1315, Albert's son Leopold took up his father's work and strove to reduce the Swiss to submission. When he and his generals were planning how they should enter the Alpine mountains, his court fool made a jest, saying, "You might better plan how you will get out of them again." The jest was wiser than all the generals' council. Nearly ten thousand splendidly armored Austrian troops marched up the pass of Morgarten, at whose head waited a little Swiss army, scarce thirteen hundred strong. A band of fifty Swiss peasants, exiled from their homes for debt, saw the approach of their country's foes, and began rolling rocks down upon the invaders from the surrounding cliffs. The plunging masses of stone

became avalanches; many Austrians were killed and the rest thrown into helpless confusion and terror. The little Swiss army, seeing its opportunity, swept down upon the foe and routed them. Leopold escaped only by hiding alone among the mountains and stealing in darkness along the dangerous and rugged paths. It was this famous battle of Morgarten that first established the independence of Switzerland.

Official Seal of Albert I.



THE BATTLE OF MORGARTEN

BATTLE OF SEMPACH
(*From an old Manuscript*)

Chapter LVIII

THE LUXEMBURG EMPERORS AND THE HUSSITE WARS

WE have seen the strong tendency which, during the early days of the empire, had caused its sovereignty to descend in the line of one family, until that became extinct. After the reigns of Rudolf and Albert, the house of Hapsburg seems always to have felt that it had a hereditary claim to the throne. The other princes, however, were determined to keep all importance in their own hands, and they persistently avoided choosing the powerful dukes of Austria. One wobbly emperor was elected after another during a century or more. These sovereigns quarrelled with the popes, they fought among themselves, and they warred with France.

The best of them was Henry VII., of Luxemburg, a well-meaning and capable emperor, who led an army into Italy and died there, poisoned, some say, in the sacrificial wine, given him by a monk. Henry's successor, Ludwig IV., of Bavaria, battled for years against an Austrian claimant for the throne, and was excommunicated by three successive popes.

Toward the end of his reign (1346), an appalling plague, called the "Black Death," began sweeping over Europe, and continued its ravages for several years. Many of the terrified people gathered into wandering bands of penitents, who were called "flagellants," because, as they passed along the road from city to city, they flogged themselves in most savage fashion. They hoped thus to obtain mercy for their sins. Naturally the plague followed them as they

went, and they died by thousands. Ludwig the Bavarian seems rather conceitedly to have regarded the "Black Death" as a judgment brought upon Europe by his personal sin in opposing the popes. He died a prey to superstitious gloom and despair, and his body was long refused burial by order of the Church he had offended. One-third of the people in Europe are said to have fallen victims to this awful scourge.

Henry of Luxemburg had managed to make his son John King of Bohemia. John in his blind old age joined the French in alliance against the English, and fell fighting bravely at the battle of Crecy. By his side fought his young son, Charles, who became King of Bohemia, and afterward Emperor of Germany, as Charles IV.

Charles IV. (1347–1378) begins what is sometimes called, from his grandfather, Henry of Luxemburg, the Luxemburg line of emperors. Charles was really much more of a Sclav than a German, inheriting from his Bohemian mother his short, thickset figure, drooping head, high cheek bones, and straight black hair. He was cunning and treacherous, and used his power over the feeble empire mainly to improve his own position and that of his family.

The Germans, complaining of his neglect, say he was a father to Bohemia, but only a stepfather to the empire. It is true that he devoted his principal energies to his own kingdom, making it the leading state of Germany. Prague, Bohemia's capital, became the most beautiful of the German cities, filled with palaces and splendid gardens. It became also the intellectual centre of the land. Charles founded there the first German university in 1348. Students who had formerly journeyed into France or Italy now flocked to Prague. In a few years they numbered seven or eight thousand.

Charles is mainly known, however, for his proclamation of the "Golden Bull" (1356), which settled definitely the manner of electing emperors, and remained the law of the land for four hundred and fifty years. It begins: "Every kingdom which is at odds with itself will fall. For its princes are the companions of robbers; and, therefore, God hath removed the light from their minds. They have become blind leaders of the blind; and with blinded thoughts they commit misdeeds." By which it would seem that the princes understood perfectly what was the trouble with their unhappy land. All they lacked was the will to remedy it.

This precious document made the electors practically independent princes, and thus destroyed every faintest hope of a real union among the Germans. The number of electors had long been fixed more or less positively at seven. These were originally the dukes of the four "nations"—Franks, Saxons, Bavarians, and Swabians, and the three chancellors of the empire; that is, the archbishops of Mayence, Cologne, and Treves. There was no longer a duke

LUDWIG IV. REFUSED BURIAL

either of Swabia or Franconia; and Charles now settled that the four electors from the nobility were to be the King of Bohemia, which meant himself; the Margrave of Brandenburg, a rank he secured for his second son, Sigismund; and the feeble and subservient rulers of the Rhine Palatinate and the little fragment of Saxony, called Saxe-Wittenberg. The dukes of Austria were deliberately barred out, as were other great nobles who might have acted too independently of Charles. In other words, the Bohemian king had, with the aid of the churchmen, established an electoral college, in which the dominance of his family influence seemed fairly secure.

The strength of the position Charles thus obtained is proved by the fact that it survived the weakness and folly of his successors. His subservient electors during his life named his eldest son, Wenzel, to succeed him. Wenzel, or Wenceslaus (1378–1410), scarcely left Bohemia and the beautiful city his father had created. He was a savage, drunken boor. The Germans, viewing his outbreaks from a safe distance, laughed at him for a fool. The Bohemians, compelled to suffer under his fury, feared him as a bloody and terrible tyrant.

He kept great bloodhounds by his side even in his bed-chamber; and his first wife, rising from her sleep one night, was torn to pieces by the ferocious brutes. Wenzel's executioner was his constant companion, and any person who displeased him was beheaded on the spot. Some one wrote upon his palace door, "Wenzel, another Nero"; whereon he himself added underneath, "If I have not been, I will be now." He commanded his wife's confessor, John of Nepomuck, to reveal whatever she had told in her secret confessions. On the holy man's refusing, he was cruelly tortured, and at last drowned by being hurled from one of the river bridges of Prague. Hence John of Nepomuck has been made the patron saint of Bohemia, and of all bridges.

It was during Wenzel's reign, if reign it can be called, that trouble again arose between the Swiss and the dukes of Austria, and the Swiss peasants won a decisive victory at Sempach, 1386. The heavily armored Austrian knights advanced on foot, their levelled lances presenting an impenetrable row of steel. The unarmored Swiss hesitated. One among them, Arnold of Winkelried, saw the only way to victory. "Comrades," he said, "I will open a path for you. Take care of my wife and children." Rushing on the foe, he received as many of the lances as he could gather in his two arms and his breast. The Swiss rushed into the gap thus broken, and beat down the heavy weighted and less active knights. Duke Leopold of Austria was slain, and his army fled in all directions.

Encouraged by the success of the peasantry, the cities of the upper Rhine valley formed a union known as the Swabian league, and for years defied the nobles and the Emperor. At one time it looked as if they would become as

independent as the Swiss mountaineers; but at length they were reduced to submission. The rich cities of Holland were also becoming estranged from the empire, and Flanders, the region which we call Belgium to-day, became almost wholly united with France.

The Emperor Wenzel's indifference to all this turmoil and weakening of the empire, and also his increasing savagery, became so notorious that efforts were at length made to depose him. Wenzel, secure in Bohemia, paid little attention to the various claimants to his title, until his own brother Sigismund interfered.

Sigismund, the second son of Charles IV., was the best of his family; though that, you will see, is not claiming much for him. He was tall and handsome, a ruddy German, while Wenzel was, like his father, a sallow Slav. Sigismund was well-meaning, though not particularly brilliant, and was one of the vainest men that ever lived. You will recall that Charles had made him Elector of Brandenburg; he had also married him to a daughter of the King of Hungary; and through this alliance Sigismund, after considerable struggling, succeeded to the Hungarian throne.

As Sigismund's power increased, he interfered with Wenzel to save their entire family from destruction. Twice he had his brother imprisoned as a madman. Finally, in 1410, Wenzel was once more deposed, and Sigismund had himself elected emperor. "I vote for myself," he said in the electoral council. "There is no prince in the empire I know better, none who equals me in power or in the art of governing." Two of the other electors, however, failed to agree with him, and voted for his aged cousin, Jobst of Moravia, who is chiefly noted as being the man of whom a sarcastic chronicler wrote, "He passed for a great man, but there was nothing great about him but the length of his beard." So Germany had three members of the House of Luxemburg, each claiming to be emperor at the same time.

This same year of 1410 saw a similar unhappy contest raging in the papacy. There were three churchmen, each claiming to be pope, and each upheld by a vociferous faction of his partisans.

To Sigismund belongs the credit of terminating this disastrous state of affairs. In the empire, he succeeded in persuading all his family to unite upon him as their candidate. Even Wenzel peacefully surrendered to him the imperial crown. Then Sigismund called a great council of the church, to meet at Constance in the year 1414, to settle the papal scandal.

This famous Council of Constance was probably the most elaborate church assembly ever held. Delegates came from every country of Europe. Even the Eastern Emperor, who did not acknowledge the Pope's authority, and even the Mahometan Turks, sent ambassadors to the council. One hundred and

AFTER THE BATTLE OF SEMPACH

fifty thousand visitors gathered in Constance; and the deliberations of the council lasted nearly four years. Not all of this time was spent in learned disputations; there were tournaments, pageants, and receptions, for the entertainment of the visiting sovereigns. Merchants, mountebanks, jugglers, and tricksters of every kind, thronged the city. For the first time men of the various nations met all together, and could be compared. A thoughtful looker-on at the kaleidoscopic spectacle has left us his judgment upon them. "The Germans," he says, "are quick-tempered, but persistent; the French haughty and boastful; the English prompt and shrewd; the Italians subtle and intriguing."

Sigismund lorded it over them all to his heart's content, making himself a bit ridiculous occasionally by his vain pretensions. In his opening Latin speech he stumbled a bit in his grammar, and when a cardinal ventured to correct him, he answered haughtily, "I am Lord of the Latins (Romans) and above their grammar."

Later the Emperor left Constance, and took advantage of the universal attention centred on him to make a stately tour of other lands, ostensibly for the purpose of drawing all powers to the council. Paris received him flatteringly as the greatest potentate of the world.

In England the Duke of Gloucester met him with an armed force and, wading into the water before the Emperor could land, demanded to know if the visit was meant to assert any sort of authority over England. It was not until Sigismund assured the Duke to the contrary that he was permitted to come ashore. While Sigismund was being entertained at London by the cautious English, the Count of Holland, whose fleet was to bring the Emperor home, quarrelled with his imperial master and sailed off with the ships. Sigismund was thus left a virtual prisoner among the English, until he agreed to all their politely worded demands, and they saw fit to send him home.

The council did what it was mainly called to do, settled the papal schism. It deposed all three popes and appointed a fourth in their stead, who was generally acknowledged as Martin V. There had been a second task, however, before the council, and this resulted only in dreary and unfortunate failure. Men had long talked of the need of reform within the Church. Indeed, reform was the main subject under learned discussion at Constance throughout the whole four years. But all the talk came to nothing; and at last the new Pope settled the council by abruptly departing from it in 1418, whereupon the remaining members felt their energy flag, and one after another betook himself home in some bewilderment.

The city of Constance was ruined and never recovered from its too lavish entertainment of its guests. One main cause of this was that the impecunious

Sigismund had contracted debts on every side, and never paid a penny of them —an imperial example which naturally found a host of imitators.

We have yet to speak of the grim tragedy that was to many the most momentous act of the Council of Constance. This was the execution of John Huss. Huss was a leader among the party seeking reform. He was a Bohemian peasant, who had through his intellectual ability made himself a professor at the great university Charles IV. had founded in Prague. There he began preaching his doctrines of reform; and the nobility of his words and of his life led most of the students to accept his ideas. The whole university was disrupted. The extreme partisans of the Church declared him a heretic. The Pope condemned his teachings. His followers, however, stood by him and elected him head of the university. Huss then offered to submit his doctrines to a Church council, if one were called. So important a man as the head of the Prague University could not well be ignored; and his offer was one reason among the many for calling the assembly at Constance.

Huss journeyed there under a safe conduct from the Emperor Sigismund, and the promise of an opportunity to explain his beliefs. But all promises were ignored, and he was thrown into prison. "No faith," said the council, "need be kept with a heretic." When Huss tried to speak at his trial, he was howled down and condemned unheard. He appealed to the Emperor; but Sigismund sat in silence, though he blushed his shame. Huss was stripped of his priestly robes, a tall heretic cap covered with pictured devils was placed on his head, and he was burned to death. His courage and firmness sustained him to the end. "Light the fire in front," he said calmly to the executioner, who would have kindled it from the rear. "Had I feared fire, I should not have stood here."

Bohemia was infuriated over this treacherous crime. Even the deposed Emperor, Wenzel, who was still King of Bohemia, had upheld Huss, though, perhaps, with no very deep conviction. One of his palace officers, John Ziska, complained to him of the unavenged tragedy. "I can do nothing about it," said Wenzel, with one of his habitual sarcasms, "but why don't *you* try?" Ziska took him at his word, summoned the supporters of Huss to arms, and began the terrible Hussite wars.

He and his followers rushed to fanatical extremes. The Germans of the town council of Prague, refusing to follow his lead, were hurled from a window of the town-hall onto the spears of a mob beneath. Romish priests were burnt wherever found. Wenzel, crazed with the excitement, burst a blood-vessel and died. The splendid churches and palaces of Prague, in which he and his father Charles had taken so much pride, were looted or destroyed. The city was ruined.

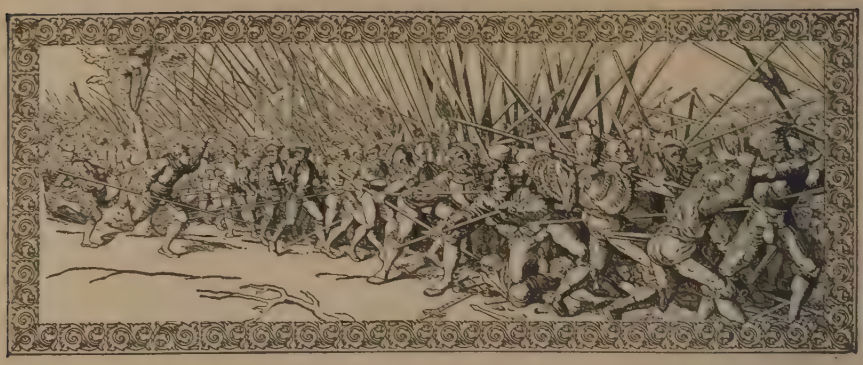
THE EXECUTION OF HUSS

During these times the Emperor Sigismund was busy fighting the Turks in Hungary and refused to realize the importance of the rebellion. When finally he did so, it was too late. All Bohemia was in the hands of the Hussites. Sigismund led powerful forces to attack them, and finally crusades against them were preached all over Europe.

Five times crusading armies of Germans marched into Bohemia. But Ziska proved himself a wonderful general. Some rank him among the great military geniuses of the world. Though, perhaps, the fire and enthusiasm of his followers would have made them victorious under any leader. They defeated every army that confronted them. The name of Ziska became a terror to Europe. He was a short, but very heavily built man, bald-headed and with huge red moustaches. He was blind in one eye, and after a while the other was shot out by an arrow; but he still continued to lead his followers to victory. So constantly did he keep them on the march that even those fanatics complained. "Night and day are alike to you," they said, "but we need daylight to pick our footsteps." "You want light?" he answered. "Then burn the villages!"

They laid waste all the German lands around Bohemia. The cruelties which the Church practised against them, they returned with tenfold ferocity. Both sexes and all ages felt their vengeance. They fought mainly with heavy iron flails, that cracked the armor of their enemies like eggshells. So great became the Germans' fear of them that at last the crusading armies fled at the mere rumor of their approach. Ziska died, but legend says they made his skin into a drum and followed the leadership of that. Their victories continued, until finally no army remained for them to fight. A new council had to be called by the unwilling heads of the Church, which granted almost all the Hussite demands for reform, so far as Bohemia was concerned. This divided the Hussite warriors into factions, which would and would not accept the terms offered. They quarrelled among themselves, turned their arms against one another, and, though left unassailed from without, were never afterward dangerous to the empire.

The death of Huss had been most bloodily avenged. But that poor result was all. The civilization and culture that had placed Bohemia among the foremost countries of Europe were almost totally extinguished. The condition of religious affairs throughout the Christian world remained as deplorable as ever. The first effort at reform had sunk in ruin.



MAXIMILIAN AT BRUGES

Chapter LIX

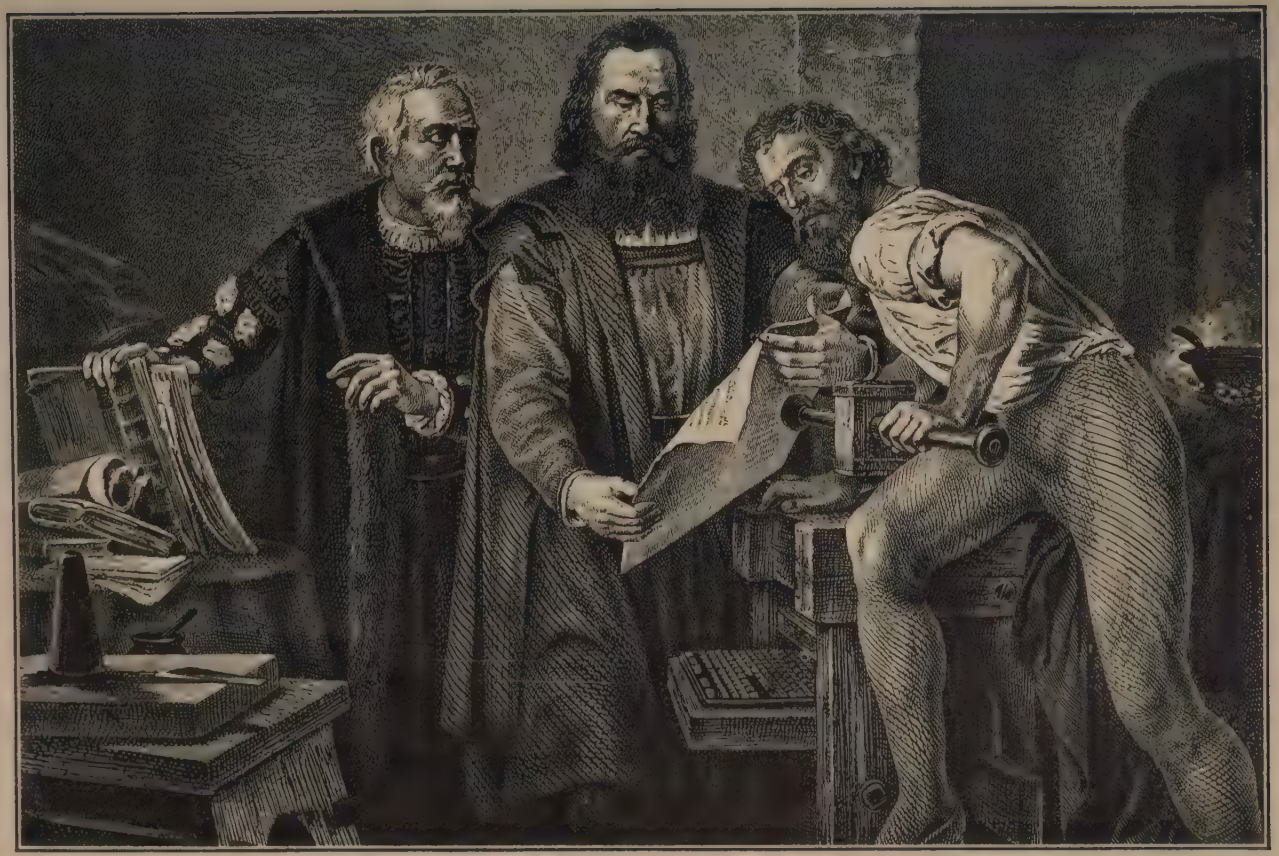
THE HAPSBURG EMPERORS AND THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES

WHEN the Emperor Sigismund died, in 1437, he left no son to take the throne. He had wedded his daughter to the most powerful noble of the empire, Albert, Duke of Austria, and he arranged with the electors that Albert was to succeed him. So, by an odd turn of fate, the very machinery which Charles IV. had created to fix his own family securely upon the throne, now established there the Hapsburgs of Austria, the rivals whom he had most dreaded.

From this date the Austrian Dukes ruled over what was left of the ancient "Holy Roman Empire" until they themselves abolished the faded anachronism in 1806. There was no formal change. The electors continued to meet and go through their office; but this became a mere empty form. The election was always given to the heir of the Hapsburgs.

The Hapsburgs were not always successful in their rule. Albert II. (1437–1439) gave good promise, but he died within two years of his election, and was succeeded by his cousin Frederick.

Frederick III. (1440–1493) held the imperial throne for over fifty-three years, the longest reign but one of any German or Roman emperor. It took him three months to make up his mind to accept the empire. He was one of the most phlegmatic, slow, heavy, lazy men who have ever made official duty a nightmare of delay to the unfortunate public. He liked to think that he was



THE FIRST PROOF FROM GUTENBURG'S PRESS

Emperor, and was content to sit in idleness in his Vienna palace and let *his* world revolve around him. He used to write in all sorts of places the five vowels, A, E, I, O, U. Nobody could guess what he meant by them, and he would never explain. After his death the key was found among his papers. It was an anagram arranged in both Latin and German.* A rough English form of the Latin might be given as, "Austria, Emperor Is, of the Orb of the Universe"—which was not true, and which, perhaps, Frederick would not have dared to say openly, but which it flattered his vanity to boast in secret.

What growth there was in the empire during his reign was in spite of him and over his lazy body. Modern printing was invented by Gutenberg at Mainz, and the resulting increase of general knowledge, while not immediately visible, ultimately made reform in all directions a mere question of time.

Frederick was the last of the emperors who made the journey to Rome to be crowned by the popes. So low had the imperial dignity sunk in Italy that in one city, as Frederick's gorgeous procession passed, the young men let down strings and hooks from the balconies and pulled up the canopy of golden cloth, which was borne above the Emperor's head. Having captured his canopy, they began, amid much merriment, angling for his hat. Frederick, roused at last, ably defended himself with his staff, and, to avenge his insulted dignity, had the mischievous youths arrested and reprimanded by the town authorities.

During his feeble reign, private wars once more devastated Germany. Frederick himself invited thirty thousand French troops into the land to attack the Swiss, who still ignored Austria's claim to govern them. In 1444 sixteen hundred Swiss met the French army in battle at St. Jacob. Only sixteen of the outnumbered mountaineers sought safety in flight. Every other man of the little body of Swiss peasants fought till his death upon the battlefield. They saved their country, for so terrible was the slaughter they inflicted upon their opponents that the Frenchmen refused to advance further into the dangerous land. They turned aside and amused themselves for months ravaging southern Germany, until finally they returned home. This was the last effort of the Hapsburgs to reassert their empire over the Swiss.

As Frederick grew older his laziness increased. He spent his entire time in religious devotions and in the search for the philosopher's stone, which was to turn all metals into gold. He had claimed to succeed Sigismund as King of Bohemia and of Hungary; but each of these lands refused him and elected another king instead; and each of these kings in turn invaded Austria and defeated Frederick. The Hungarian even drove him out of his Austrian capital of Vienna, and attached much of his possessions to Hungary. So the Emperor became for a time a homeless wanderer, travelling behind a yoke of

* Alles Erdreich Ist Oestereich Unterthan.

oxen from one prince's domain to another, and received everywhere with scant ceremony as an unwelcome guest.

At last he actually grew so lazy that it caused his death. He would not turn to close doors, but kicked them shut from behind. In this way he so injured his foot that it had to be amputated, and he died.

He was succeeded by his son Maximilian I. (1493–1519). "Max," the lad's mother had once said to him, "if I thought you would be an emperor like your father, I would take shame in being your mother."

Max proved the very reverse of all his father had been. He is sometimes regarded as one of Germany's great emperors. Great he certainly would have been, had he shown himself as shrewd as he was gallant and noble. But he was ever undertaking more than he had means to accomplish, nor did he always see just what was the wisest thing to do, with the result that he occasionally got himself laughed at, much as Sigismund had done.

The reign of Maximilian, which may be counted as beginning in 1486, when he was named to succeed his aged father, and which lasted till 1519, marks the close of the Middle Ages. "Kaiser Max," as his people called him, was the last of the old-time knightly emperors. He was tall and handsome, with a fine, strong face, graceful manner, and noble bearing. His gallantry led him often into rashness. Once he stepped into a cage with some lions, and the door becoming shut, had to defend himself with a shovel against the brutes until help came.

At another time, while he was scaling the wild Alpine cliffs, chamois hunting, legend tells us that he fell from a precipice. A narrow ledge caught him half-way down, and he clung there beyond the reach of help. The people, seeing him from the valley underneath, knelt and prayed for the doomed hunter; and Max tossed them down a written note ordering a death mass to be celebrated for him in their little church. In the night, however, a peasant lad climbed to him through a cleft in the rocks and led him to safety. The boy could never be found afterward; and the people said it must have been an angel, who came to save the hope of the empire. Maximilian, in thanks for his escape, built a chapel, which still stands at the summit of the cliff.

He is called the "Last of the Knights"; and courtly chronicles assure us that no man of his day equalled him in the handling of knightly weapons, whether in tournament or on the field of battle. He experimented also with the newly invented weapons of war, firearms, and was nearly blown to pieces by his court fool, in the interests of science. The fool tried to put a burning match to the touch-hole of a loaded cannon while the Emperor stood at its mouth.

German art was also encouraged by Maximilian. The earliest of the German artists, Albert Durer, lived at this time, and Maximilian was his friend

MAXIMILIAN'S PERIL IN THE ALPS

and patron, often sitting to him for his portrait. Perhaps this posing shows a touch of vanity. It is certainly shown in the two books which the Emperor wrote with his own hand, describing, under a thin veil of fantasy, his own adventurous and romantic exploits. He thought far more of these and of his personal triumphs and failures, than he did of his duties as a king.

In his youth a marriage was planned between him and Mary, the heiress of Burgundy and the Netherlands; but a political quarrel between their fathers separated the young folks. Four years later, Mary, being left an orphan, surrounded by evil men, and in danger of losing all her inheritance, sent her ring to Maximilian. He accepted the pledge, came to her in Ghent, and they were married there in 1477.

He defeated her enemies, even battling for her against the King of France, established her authority firmly in the Netherlands, and ruled with her there for five years, which he was afterward wont to declare had been the happiest of his life. Then Mary died, and Maximilian had endless trouble with her subjects, who were unwilling to accept his rule. Only after considerable fighting did they finally allow him to govern, as regent for his and Mary's little son, Philip.

Meanwhile another orphan heiress was in trouble, Anne of Brittany in France. She, too, sent to the knightly Maximilian, beseeching him to wed and save her. Maximilian set out, but unfortunately stumbled into a quarrel on the way. He was seized by the citizens of his town of Bruges, and held in prison for several months. Anne married another knight, the same King of France who had persecuted both her and Mary; and Maximilian had to wait for a German army to free him from his rebellious Netherlanders.

All these adventures happened to Maximilian while his father was still Emperor. The German electors named the young prince as next in line for the succession to the throne. His first act, after thus becoming heir of the empire, was to attack the Hungarians, driving them from Vienna and recovering Austria for the aged Frederick.

These various exploits led people to expect great things of Maximilian when he himself became emperor in 1493. But he lacked money to carry out any of his splendid plans. He was a powerful prince through his possession of Austria and the Netherlands; but his nominal authority over distracted Germany added little to his real strength; and he was not able to compete in wealth and display with the firmly seated kings of France and Spain. He was always extravagant, always impecunious, always begging the German princes for money and armies with which to conduct foreign wars, and quarrelling hotly with them when they refused him and advised him to attend to home affairs instead.

It was a saying of Maximilian that the King of France reigned over asses,

since they would bear any burden he put on them; the King of Spain over men, who only obeyed in reason; the King of England over angels, so faithful was their service; but the German Emperor had to rule over princes, and they followed him only when they pleased.

Poor Emperor! He had learned the feeble nature of his own sovereignty through bitter experience. Once when he was warring, in alliance with the French in Italy, his knights deserted him in a body, because he ordered them to join the French in attacking a city's walls on foot, and they deemed it beneath their dignity to fight without their horses. The humiliated Maximilian galloped away alone from the allied camp, sent back angry word to his army that it was disbanded, and retired to Austria in helpless indignation. At another time, failing to get the troops he desired in order to join King Henry VII. of England in attacking France, the Emperor went himself and served as a soldier in the English army, receiving the personal wages of a hundred crowns a day.

From all this you will see that, while Maximilian, considered individually, was a fine and noble man, he was not a capable and successful Emperor. By personal effort and by fortunate matrimonial alliances he did much for the advantage of his own family of Austria; but he did little, if anything, for Germany.

The beginnings of modern constitutional government are, indeed, traceable in Germany during his reign; but those beginnings were generally established only after personal contest with the hot-headed Emperor. The electors of the time seem to have been in the main men of public spirit and foresight, showing real anxiety for the people's good. This is especially true of Berthold, Archbishop of Mainz, and of Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony. Berthold led the electors in urging the Emperor to grant Germany a written constitution. "You are seeking to rob me of my ancient rights," thundered Maximilian—though, perhaps, he would have found it difficult to explain what practical value those rights had ever possessed for him. "Rather than let you steal my crown, I will tear it off myself, and trample it under foot."

Nevertheless there were reforms. The empire was divided into ten "circles," as they were called, for the administration of justice—and with the vague hope of reducing the number of its petty states, which had now increased to three hundred and forty. A regular postal service was created under the care of the Count of Thurm-and-Taxis, whose descendants grew enormously rich from it, and retained something of their office until 1866. An imperial court of justice was established, and a regular system of taxation. But all these changes can scarcely be credited to the man who asked for none of them, but only for armies, and yet more armies, wherewith to fight foreign battles.

MAXIMILIAN AND DURER

The end of the Middle Ages was clearly at hand. The robber knights were fast becoming extinct. When Frederick of Hohenzollern aimed cannon against their previously impregnable towers, their doom was sealed. Knighthood itself was disappearing, since men began to fight everywhere for pay, and no longer, even in theory, for high principles of honor. The whole art of war was being revolutionized. Active foot soldiers with their guns, or even with pikes, were proving far more than a match for heavily armored, steel-encumbered horsemen. Men were not yet equal, they are not to-day; but the vast gap between noble and peasant was rapidly lessening. The middle classes held the balance of power.

The cities were become the centres of most of the wealth and much of the intellect of Germany. The Hansa or league of the Baltic towns had raised them to the height of their power. Their burgomasters vied with princes in their opulent display. A danger was, however, threatening their commercial supremacy. The discovery of America was not only theoretically altering the course of men's thoughts, it was practically shifting the great paths of trade from Germany and Italy, to England and Spain. The pocket of the merchant was affected even more than the mind of the scholar.

But while new ideas were thus pulsing all around Maximilian, he continued thinking and battling about the old ones. His last years were mainly occupied with establishing the succession to his throne. His son Philip, who had inherited Burgundy and the Netherlands from his mother, Mary, was dead. Philip had married a Spanish princess, and left two sons, the elder of whom, Charles, not only held his father's possessions, but had succeeded also to the Spanish throne, which included claims on much of Italy. It was Spain which had discovered America, and vast wealth had begun pouring into the kingdom from its new domain. Charles was thus already the most important sovereign of Europe, besides being heir to Maximilian's Austrian dominions. The Emperor now sought to have this powerful young grandson named also as his successor to the empire.

The prospect of being ruled by a monarch so potent as Charles would thus become, roused the jealous fears of the electors. What would happen to their own freedom? Even foreign nations shared their anxiety. The Pope intrigued secretly against Charles. The King of France, Francis I., realized the dangerous position he would be in if the lands upon either side of him, Spain and Germany and the Netherlands as well, were united against him. He openly offered himself as a rival candidate for the empire, reminding the electors of the ancient union of East and West Franks under Clovis. Even Henry VIII. of England began polishing up his German ancestry, to establish a claim to the honor.

The electors, heavily bribed upon all sides, but not at all deluded, stubbornly resisted the Emperor's efforts in favor of Charles; and when Maximilian died in 1519, they offered the crown to the best of their own number, Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony. Frederick's electoral domain, however, was only a small fragment of the once mighty duchy of Saxony. He knew how little help he could count on from the other princes, and how impossible it would be for him alone to uphold the dignity of the empire. Therefore he declined the electors' offer, and urged them to cast their votes for Charles, whom they could at least count as a German, not a foreigner like the other candidates.

First, however, they required from the Spanish king a written guarantee that he would not intrude upon any of their rights and privileges. Having signed this, he was proclaimed Emperor, as Charles V. He was a youth of only nineteen, but already old in the ways of the new statecraft monarchs were learning, the diplomacy of carefully calculated falsehood and treachery.

Charles V. (1519–1555) was really far more a Spaniard than a German. He had been reared in Spain or in Flanders by his Spanish mother; his father's life had been mainly French. So two generations separated him from Maximilian and the German nation. Thus it unfortunately came to pass that a sovereign, who was a foreigner in all but name, who knew little and cared less for German thought and feeling, sat upon the throne and controlled the destiny of the land during what was to be the most momentous epoch in its history.

SOLDIERS OF CHARLES V.

MARY OF BURGUNDY WELCOMING MAXIMILIAN IN GHENT

Capture of a Noble in the Peasants' Insurrection

Chapter LX

LUTHER AND THE GERMAN REFORMATION

We come now to the great religious upheaval of Germany, the *Reformation*, as it is popularly called; though it is only fair to point out that the Roman Church objects strongly to this name. Catholics do not deny that evil men sometimes used the Church for evil deeds; but they claim that such crimes were corrected within the Church itself. The Reformation they regard as being mainly an unjust political movement, whose principal purpose was the seizure of Church property.

You have seen that the desire for religious reform had been long present, and growing ever stronger in the minds of men. Huss, the Bohemian, had died for it. Savonarola in Italy had also become its martyr, as had many another man less famous in history. Now, there came to champion the cause Martin Luther, a Saxon monk. Whether because Luther was greater than the others, or only because the times were better suited to the movement, he succeeded where his predecessors had failed, and established "Protestantism" through all northern Europe.

Luther was born in 1483, the son of a Saxon peasant. His father, rising somewhat in life, sent his son to the university at Erfurt. Here young Martin became a monk, being deeply impressed, and his thoughts directed toward religion, by the death of a comrade, who was stricken down at his side by a thunderbolt. The young monk became a teacher at the University of Wittenberg, in Saxony. He was sent to Rome on an ecclesiastical mission, and

expressed horror at the religious indifference, and even corruption, which he found there.

Returning to Wittenberg, he began preaching against the wicked men who held high places in the Church. In this he was doing no more than was many another sincere and earnest churchman; but at length one especial evil roused Luther to more positive antagonism. This was the sale of "indulgences," which was carried on by various priests, claiming to hold authority from the Pope. These indulgences promised the purchaser release from the hell-flames which otherwise were to punish his sins. The proviso was always made that he must repent the sin; but, in spite of this, Luther, and many other thoughtful men, believed that such purchases encouraged people to commit crime, and that they lowered religion to the grossest depths of superstition. Particularly offensive in the matter was one John Tetzel, a friar, who was journeying through Saxony advertising the sale of these indulgences in a way to make the scandal more open and debasing than it had ever been before.

So, in the year 1517, while the aged Maximilian and his princes were haggling over the succession to the throne, Martin Luther, looking into life with deeper and more earnest eyes, drew up a list of ninety-five religious theses, or arguments, which he stood ready to prove. This celebrated document attacked the teachings of the Church of Rome on many points, particularly on the question of indulgences. That all men might know the points he sought to prove, Luther tacked the theses upon the church door at Wittenberg. It was no light matter thus to brave the Church. This act of Luther and this date (October 31, 1517) are generally accepted as beginning the Reformation.

The written words found an instant echo everywhere through Germany; a thousand voices eagerly upheld the monk of Wittenberg in the firm stand which he had taken. Frederick the Wise of Saxony became his chief supporter, and when the Pope summoned Luther to Rome to be tried for heresy, Frederick insisted that "the matter could be better settled in Germany." So Luther was summoned before the Diet, or council of the princes at Augsburg, to meet the papal delegate, Cardinal Cajetanus. He defended himself simply and earnestly, and won many members of the assembly to his side. One of Maximilian's last speeches was an earnest request to Cajetanus to "deal gently with the learned monk."

Cajetanus did attempt to reason with Luther, but finally demanded abruptly that he recant all he had said and written. Luther refused and, being warned by friends, fled from the city, leaving behind an appeal "To the Pope, when he is better informed." Cajetanus, in his anger, called him a "German beast," but afterward said, "He is deep sighted and has wonderful ideas." Luther

LUTHER BEFORE CARDINAL CAJETANUS

said of the Cardinal, "He knows no more of the Bible than a donkey does of harp-playing."

No one, however, was willing to antagonize Frederick of Saxony, and so no positive steps were taken against his young protégé. Luther went on preaching more and more boldly, until at last, Maximilian being dead and Charles elected Emperor, the Pope sent a positive notice, or papal "bull," as it was called, excommunicating the heretic monk.

Luther, who had till then been seeking to establish his reforms within the Church itself, now broke away utterly from the ancient organization and defied its chief. On December 10, 1520, at the head of a solemn procession of the teachers and students of his university, he threw the papal bull into a bon-fire prepared for it outside the gate of Wittenberg. His curse accompanied it: "Because thou hast assailed the holy one of God, therefore mayst thou be consumed in eternal fire." This made reconciliation impossible; it was the second step in the Reformation.

The new Emperor, Charles V., came to Germany to be crowned, and would have condemned Luther unheard. The matter seemed to him unimportant, only the burning of another heretic. But Frederick of Saxony once more insisted on Luther's being heard in his own defence; so Charles sent an imperial safe conduct, summoning him with portentous formality to the court at Worms. Charles apparently hoped that the poor monk would be frightened into flight or submission. Indeed, most of Luther's friends entreated him not to go to Worms, reminding him of the fate of Huss.

The resolute reformer met their pleadings with his famous answer, "Though there were as many devils in Worms as tiles on the roofs, yet would I go." He seems to have felt throughout that this was not his fight, but God's.

He defended himself boldly before the Emperor, who paid no heed, and only demanded with cold severity that he instantly and unconditionally retract his preachings. It was the supreme moment. The Emperor had been Luther's chief hope. To refuse his demand seemed to be to rush upon the fate of Huss. "I cannot recognize any authority contrary to the Scriptures," cried Luther. And then even more resolutely: "I reiterate everything I have preached or published. Here I stand. I cannot do otherwise. God help me! Amen."

The daring monk was declared an outlaw from the empire, as he had previously been from the Church. The Emperor was even urged to seize him at once, despite the imperial safe-conduct. But this Charles refused to do, saying, "I will not blush like Sigismund." The young Emperor was not yet hardened to the ways of statecraft. In later life he reproached himself severely for this "weakness," arguing that Luther's death would have crushed the Reformation at the start. Perhaps at the moment, however, the politic Emperor saw that

violent action would not be wholly safe. Frederick of Saxony, impressed by Luther's firmness, walked by his side as he left the council, and other nobles rose and joined them.

The monk was hurried away and hidden in secret in Frederick's castle of the Wartburg. Here he remained for a year, devoting his time to the translation of the Bible into German for the common people, and preaching to the inmates of the castle, who, to conceal his identity, addressed him as "Knight George."

If you visit the Wartburg to-day, you will be shown an ink spot on the wall which Luther is said to have made by hurling his inkstand at the devil, Luther becoming so wrought up over his writing as to imagine that the fiend himself was in the room seeking to thwart the work. The story, however, lacks all historic foundation.

Meanwhile the work of reform went on without its leader. Charles had left Germany almost immediately after his coronation, and did not return for several years. He was busy fighting in Spain and Italy, and entrusted his German domain to the enlightened government of Frederick of Saxony. Thus the Reformation was allowed to move on unchecked, except by its own excesses.

Some princes joined the new faith from earnest conviction, others from policy. The Church was very rich, and a Lutheran had good excuse for stripping the abbeys and convents of their wealth, and taking possession of their lands. You will remember that the "Teutonic Order" of knights had conquered Prussia, and held it as a dependency of the Church. Their Grand Master, Albert of Brandenburg, declared in favor of the new religion, and, throwing off his allegiance to Rome, turned Prussia into a principality of his own, which he made hereditary in his family.

The peasantry, too, brought odium upon the new cause by the savagery with which they embraced it. When Luther preached reform, the lower classes seem to have understood him as urging political as well as religious changes. Cruelly ground under foot, they took up the reform cry eagerly. Preachers sprang up among them, who talked so extravagantly that the thoughtful, moderate Luther recoiled from their doctrines with horror. He could no longer rest peacefully in his seclusion, but burst from it, despite the death sentence that hung over him, and began preaching openly against the extremists. His great personal influence and energy soon enabled him to put a stop to their excesses in Saxony, though many of his warmest supporters violently reproached him for what they called his desertion of the cause.

In Southern Germany, however, the peasantry were not to be quieted. They formed roving bands under the lead of preachers or robber knights and attacked the castles of the nobles. The lords were slain, the high-born ladies

LUTHER DEFENDING HIMSELF BEFORE CHARLES V. AT WORMS

compelled to act as servants to their former subjects. "There are no countesses now," the haughty Countess of Westerburg was told. "If you object, why, we will be lords for a change, and you the peasant."

These reckless bands became armies, and at one time most of Southern Germany was in their possession. They committed frightful atrocities upon the unfortunate prisoners who fell into their hands. It was the frenzied outburst of men who had been trodden into brutes, one of the forerunners of the terrible French Revolution, only, as befitted its wilder times, it was even more unguided, unrestrained, and bestial.

The princes, Lutheran as well as Catholic, hastened to unite against their revolted subjects, and the peasantry were defeated in several pitched battles. Over a hundred thousand of them were slain, and they were ground down into a servitude even more wretched than before. The revolt was punished with such hideous cruelties as made the peasants' own atrocities seem mild.

Neither Emperor nor Pope seems to have given much thought to Germany. Each of them had his hands full in Italy, where, with France's assistance, they were quarrelling and fighting vehemently. Charles did, however, arrange to have his brother Ferdinand appointed his viceroy over the empire.

Ferdinand had been married to a princess of Hungary, and through her inherited the crowns of both Hungary and Bohemia. Charles, finding himself fully occupied elsewhere, also conferred on his brother most of the family's Austrian possessions. So that now Ferdinand held almost all of the modern Austrian empire, and was, even without his brother's support, by far the most powerful of the German princes. In fact, the house of Hapsburg stood at this moment at the very summit of its selfish power, holding some sort of rule over quite two-thirds of civilized Europe, with vague claims upon all America as well.

By 1530 Charles had established his supremacy in Italy and agreed to a peace and alliance with the exhausted Pope. He therefore held another great Diet of the empire at Augsburg, meaning to call the Lutherans to stern account for their dealings with the property of the Church. The year before, a smaller council presided over by Ferdinand, had made some laws interfering with the Lutherans. Against these they had entered a "protest," from which they were thereafter called Protestants, the name now given to all Christians who "protest" against the forms of the Roman Church.

For presentation to Charles' great diet at Augsburg the Protestant princes and cities had their leading scholar, Melancthon, draw up the famous document called the Augsburg Confession. It was written with Luther's approval, and stated in very mild and scholarly form the chief doctrines of the Lutherans. It has ever since been accepted as the standard of their Church.

Charles hesitated before the firmness and union of the protesting powers. Almost all the cities of Germany had pledged themselves to the new faith, and the Emperor had no wish to plunge the land into civil war. Before anything decisive was done, the Turks attacked the empire from the east. Charles, perhaps glad of the excuse, postponed the whole religious question, and entreated the aid of all parties to repel the dangerous foe. He promised the Lutherans that no action should be taken against them, until a general council of the Church, similar to that of Constance, could be called.

The Turks were driven back, but other foreign difficulties arose, and the Church council was not convened until 1545. When it assembled, the Lutherans refused to acknowledge its authority. Both sides prepared for war.

Before hostilities actually commenced, Luther died in 1546. He had married a nun, Catharine Bora, partly through real affection, partly to emphasize his rejection of the papal doctrine that priests could not wed, and that women performed a holy act in retiring into a nunnery. He and his wife lived very happily together; he was cheerful and even fond of jest in his family circle, an easy as well as an earnest talker. In Germany his personal influence grew ever stronger. He was keen and just, and remained a leader of his party. His renown was so high that he was appealed to even by princes to arbitrate their disputes. Yet so little had he thought of worldly wealth that after his death his wife was compelled to work for her bread.

The war which followed Luther's death was almost farcical. Frederick of Saxony had been long dead, and the diplomacy of Charles so divided and confused the various Lutheran allies that only one of them, Frederick's nephew, John of Saxony, actually met the Emperor in battle. "Met," however, is hardly the word, for it was Sunday, and John was in church, when the Emperor suddenly attacked his army at Lochau. John, slow and fat and lumbering—he had to climb up on his horse with a ladder—only reached his army in time to see it fleeing across the plain, and, though he defended himself bravely, he was wounded and easily made prisoner.

Charles seemed now as supreme in Germany as he had made himself in Spain. His haughty Spanish soldiers rode at will through the land, insulting the people with impunity. He used his triumph moderately, however, insisting on the return of the Lutherans to the Church, but promising them something of the reforms they asked.

At the moment when Charles' lifework seemed thus accomplished, and the whole of his great possessions reduced securely within his grasp, defeat came upon him like a thunderbolt from a clear sky. His chief aid in Germany had been Maurice, duke of a second branch of the Saxon house. Maurice had seen the opportunity of uniting the Saxon electoral possessions with his own, and,

LUTHER PREACHING IN THE WARTBURG

for his support of the Emperor, had been invested with most of the possessions of his unfortunate cousin, John.

But Maurice was dissatisfied with the results. Everywhere he went through Germany, the people hurled after him the cry of "Traitor!" The Emperor's word was broken to him on some minor points. He found himself thrust with other Germans into subordinate positions at court, where all the pleasures and honors went to Spanish favorites. So Maurice and other German nobles plotted with France, promising her king four German cities of Alsace in return for help against Charles.

A considerable Saxon army was gathered, under the pretence of assaulting the Protestant city of Magdeburg, which the Emperor had condemned. Then suddenly Maurice led the army into Southern Germany, where the Emperor was resting with his court, unsuspicious of danger. The few imperial troops were overwhelmed, and the mighty potentate had only just time to climb into a litter and flee. Suffering severely with the gout, he was jounced in terrified haste over the Alpine passes to safety in Carinthia. Maurice was only a few hours behind him. Indeed, it is related that the Saxon duke could easily have seized his victim, but that he purposely dallied, saying he had "no cage to fit so big a bird."

At the same time the King of France marched his troops across the border as "Protector of the Liberties of Germany," and began seizing the cities agreed upon. It was the first deliberate encroachment of France upon lands admittedly German, and it had been invited and encouraged by German princes.

The despotic power which Charles thought to establish over the empire was dispelled by Maurice's sudden action, and disappeared like the shadow of a cloud. Once more the princes were practically independent. The Emperor was compelled by Maurice to agree to the "Peace of Augsburg," which confirmed to each little German state the right to worship as it pleased.

Or, rather, as its ruler pleased, for with peculiar arrogance, the princes, at the very moment they were claiming religious liberty for themselves, denied it to their people. It was agreed that each ruler should have the right to enforce his own religion within his own domain. In the Protestant states this generally resulted in the people's faith being left to themselves; but the Catholic princes were, as a rule, less lenient. The old laws of the Church were still applied, and heretics were banished, or even executed. The people of the Rhenish Palatinate had to reverse their outward faith four times, with as many changing rulers.

This bewildering "Peace" of Augsburg was scarce established (1555) when Charles, disgusted with the uncertainties of life, resigned all his dignities and retired to a Spanish monastery. Spain and the Netherlands he gave with his

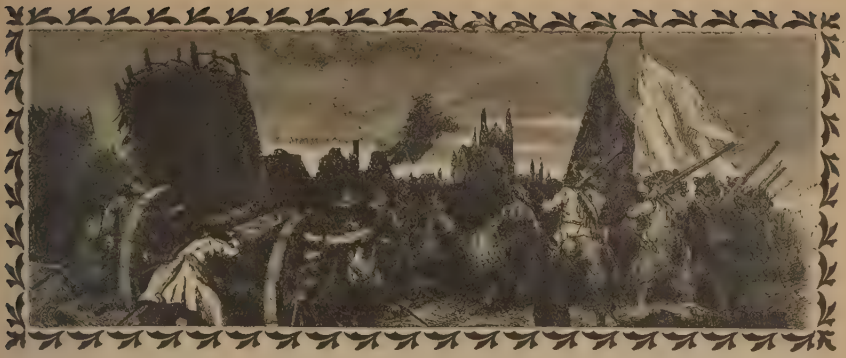
Italian possessions to his son Philip. The empire passed to his brother Ferdinand. And so, to the inexpressible relief of the Germans, they found themselves delivered from the gloomy menace of the Spanish throne, free to work out their religious problem for themselves.

It is idle to speculate what the Reformation might have become, had a truly German Emperor like Maximilian sat upon the throne, or had Charles seen fit to place himself at the head of the movement and guide it with conservative wisdom, instead of ignoring it as he did, except for occasional spasmodic interference. But his whole aim had been the establishing for himself of a vast individual power, backed by Spanish soldiers and Spanish gold. For one moment he seemed to have accomplished his purpose, and then Duke Maurice taught him something he had not suspected of the dogged independence of the German race.

"You Germans," a learned churchman had written but a little while before, "might be again as you once were, masters of the world, but for your multitude of rulers." The time was coming when no man could write this again. The abdication of Charles left the Germans divided into two hostile camps, Catholic and Protestant, each eying the other warily and suspiciously, though by no means imagining as yet toward what an awful tragedy they were confusedly drifting.

READING LUTHER'S THESES

THE COUNTESS WESTERBURG WAITING ON THE PEASANTS



TILLY'S ASSAULT ON MAGDEBURG

Chapter LXI

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR AND THE DEVASTATION OF GERMANY

FOR just one hundred years after Luther nailed his theses to the Wittenberg church door, the Reformation continued its fairly steady and peaceful progress in Germany. There was much friction between Protestant and Catholic, but no serious war. From Germany the new religious ideas spread rapidly into other lands, sometimes peacefully, sometimes amid bloody war. The northern European countries—England, Scotland, Holland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden—became wholly Protestant, though they did not all accept exactly the doctrines Luther had taught.

These doctrinal differences, inherent in the very nature of Protestantism, proved the main stumbling-block to the political success of the Reformation. Even in Germany the ideas of the French reformer, Calvin, became almost as widely accepted as those of Luther; and Calvinists and Lutherans, instead of uniting in their common cause, often opposed each other quite as bitterly as they did the Catholics.

The empire remained under the Austrian and Catholic Hapsburgs. Charles V. was, as we have seen, succeeded on the throne by his brother, Ferdinand I. (1556–1564), who, through his long regency, had become well known and trusted by all the Germans. He stood faithfully by the "Peace of Augsburg," and kept his empire at rest within. His wars were with the Turks, whose empire during this century spread to its widest extent.

Maximilian II. (1564–1576), Ferdinand's son, was even more popular than his father. He is described as one of the ablest men of his time, kind-hearted and everywhere admired, an accomplished scholar and a noble gentleman. His opponents declared him a "Protestant in disguise." He refused to take any action against the new faith. Indeed, he even allowed religious freedom within his own personal domains. During his reign, not only was all Bohemia Protestant, but most of Hungary, and even Austria itself became so. The St. Bartholomew massacre of the French Protestants, which occurred at this time, is said to have caused Maximilian the deepest grief.

With the death of this able and enlightened man the fortunes of Protestantism began to wane. He was succeeded by his son, Rudolf II. (1576–1612), whose Catholicism was of a very different type from his father's. Rudolf's religion was bitter and severe; but he was a man of so little force that neither his favor nor his opposition could be a very serious matter to any cause. He had a superstition that he would be murdered by one of his own family; and this fear grew upon him, until his mind seems to have been unbalanced. He shut himself up in his palace and would allow none but trusted servants to approach him. His main passion was for horses, of which he had the most splendid and expensive stables in the world. Yet he seldom rode beyond the limits of his palace, through fear of being shot. The passage leading to his stables had deepset windows, built with an angle, to prevent his being fired upon while going by them. His palace walls were set with polished marble, or with mirrors, that no one might steal on him from behind. Foreign envoys and even his own ministers of state had sometimes to disguise themselves as grooms, in order to gain admission to his presence; and when discovered, they were apt to be met with blows and furious reproaches.

At length Rudolf's brother, Matthias, deposed him from one of his kingdoms after another. In 1611 he was deprived of his last crown, that of Bohemia, and driven from his favorite palace in Prague. He cursed the city and died.

Matthias (1612–1619) was promptly elected to succeed him, but Matthias, too, was growing old, and his power was slipping from him. He was forced to delegate much of his authority to his youthful cousin, Ferdinand of Styria, a descendant of a younger branch of the Hapsburgs.

Ferdinand was energetic, uncompromising, and resolutely Catholic. It was he rather than the aged Matthias who precipitated the coming tragedy, the Thirty Years' War, the great religious strife of Germans against Germans, which destroyed their power, reduced much of their land to a desolate wilderness, and robbed the empire forever of that shadowy political supremacy, which had been dwindling ever since the days of Barbarossa.

Ferdinand, falling back on the right of the prince to fix the religion of his

THE FLIGHT OF CHARLES V.

people, had crushed Protestantism in every estate he owned. In 1615 he and Matthias began, or at least permitted, measures for its repression in Bohemia. There were tumults, uprisings, and on May 23, 1618, a party of angry citizens of Prague burst into the council hall, seized Slavata and Martinitz, the two most obnoxious of the Catholic leaders, and hurled them from the window. It was an ancient form of Bohemian punishment, which had been used by Ziska and by others. The window this time was over eighty feet from the ground, yet the fall did not prove fatal. The men landed on a soft rubbish heap below, and one was unhurt; the other, though much injured, survived. Their secretary was hurled after them, and is said to have apologized to his masters even as he landed for his unavoidable discourtesy in alighting upon them.

This semi-comic tragedy opened the Thirty Years' War. At first the struggle was confined to Bohemia and Austria. The other states, secure in the fact that four-fifths of the populace of the empire was Protestant, looked on with seeming indifference. The Bohemians drove the scattered imperial troops from their country.

Meanwhile Matthias died, and Ferdinand was elected to the imperial throne as Ferdinand II. (1619–1637). The Bohemians besieged him in Vienna. The Protestant Austrian nobles turned against him, and a deputation forced its way into the presence of the helpless Emperor, and insisted on his signing for them a grant of political and religious liberty. Ferdinand resolutely refused; the deputation grew threatening. One fierce noble seized the Emperor roughly by the coat front, crying, with an offensive nickname for Ferdinand, "Sign it, Nandel!" A trumpet from the castle yard interrupted them. It signalled the arrival of a body of imperial troops, who had slipped through the lines of the besiegers, and came to the Emperor's rescue.

The Austrian nobles withdrew. Spanish and Cossack troops were called by Ferdinand into the country to crush all opposition. The Bohemians, wasted by famine and plague, retreated into their own land, and the war continued there. The people offered the Bohemian throne to Frederick, the Elector of the Rhenish Palatinate, and a son-in-law of the English king, James I.

Frederick accepted, went to Bohemia in state, and tried to draw the other Protestant princes to his help. But he was a Calvinist, so the Lutherans refused to join him. His new subjects were mainly Lutherans also, and his impolitic effort to enforce his religious views upon Prague soon roused the citizens to a state of revolt against him.

The Catholic princes of the empire had long been united in a "League," with Bavaria at its head. Bavaria was, next to Austria, the most powerful state of the empire, and it had become the stronghold of the Roman faith in Germany. Now, the army of this League, under its chief, Maximilian of

Bavaria, offered its services to the Emperor against the disunited and wavering Bohemians. A portion of the Bohemian army was defeated at the battle of White Mountain, just outside of Prague. Frederick, the newly elected Bohemian king, saw his troops come fleeing back to the town, and their panic seems to have seized him also. Abandoning the strong walled city, he swept such of his possessions together as he could, and fled in haste from Bohemia. "The winter-king" his enemies called him in derision, because his kingship had lasted but one short winter.

The citizens, disheartened by his flight, terrified by the overwhelming forces arrayed against them, surrendered to Ferdinand. Executions, proscriptions, banishments, followed without number. Every person of the land was compelled to accept Catholicism. Many burned their homes with their own hands, and fled to other countries. Seldom has liberty been so utterly trampled under foot; seldom has a land been so completely subjugated. The Bohemians, who had been one of the most intellectual, energetic peoples of Europe, here practically disappear from history as a separate nation.

We turn now to the second period of this deplorable war. Its scene shifts to the domain of the unhappy Frederick upon the Rhine. He himself fled to Holland, but his land was considered as forfeited, and was deliberately desolated by Spanish troops in the service of the Emperor. The Bohemians had employed a well-known leader of mercenary troops, Count Mansfeld. When their cause was lost, Mansfeld, with most of his army, amused the Catholic forces by negotiations, till he saw his opportunity, when he slipped away from them, and led his army to the Rhine. There he continued the war in Frederick's name, though really for his own sake. His troops supported themselves by pillaging the country, and the wretched inhabitants of Frederick's Palatinate were treated almost as mercilessly by their pretended friends as by their open foes.

The peasants of Upper Austria also rebelled against Ferdinand's efforts to force his religion upon them. For a time it seemed they would be as successful as the Swiss mountainers had been. Under a peasant named Fadinger they gained several impressive victories; but he was killed, and their cause collapsed into ruin. In its last stages their struggle was taken up by an unknown leader, who was called simply "the Student." But it was too late. Remarkable and romantic as was the Student's career, his exploits and victories could not save the cause, and he perished at the head of his followers.

Meanwhile, the war along the Rhine assumed more and more the savage character that made it so destructive to the land. Mansfeld, driven from the Palatinate, supported his ferocious troops almost entirely by plundering. Tilly, the chief general of the Catholic League, followed similar tactics, and

THE BEGINNING OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

wherever they passed, the land lay ruined behind them. Some of the lesser Protestant princes joined Mansfeld, but Tilly proved a great military leader, and his opponents were slowly crowded back into northern Germany. The Emperor forced his religion upon the Rhine districts, as he had upon Bohemia and Austria. The Protestant world at last began to take alarm. Both England and Holland lent Mansfeld support. The King of Denmark, drawing as many of the Protestant German princes as possible to his side, joined vigorously in the contest.

This Danish struggle may be considered the third period of the war. It lasted from about 1625 to 1629, and introduces one of the two most remarkable men of the period.

Albert of Waldstein, or Wallenstein, as he is generally called, was a native of Bohemia, who joined the Catholics, and won military fame and experience fighting on the imperial side in the Bohemian war. He acquired vast wealth through marriage and the purchase of the confiscated Protestant estates. Proving a remarkably capable financial manager, he was soon the richest subject in the empire, and was created Duke of Friedland, a district of Bohemia.

All of these successes were to Wallenstein mere preliminary steps to an even more boundless ambition. He studied the political outlook, and his keen eye saw the possibility of vastly expanding Mansfeld's barbaric system of supporting his soldiers by plunder. The Emperor Ferdinand had but few troops of his own, and they were needed for quelling rebellion within his personal domains. For carrying on the war along the Rhine, he was entirely dependent upon the princes of the Catholic League and their army under Tilly.

Wallenstein now came forward and offered to supply the Emperor with a powerful imperial army which should not cost him a penny. This offer, coming from a mere private gentleman, sounded absurd; and for a time Wallenstein was put aside with contemptuous laughter. At last the Emperor told him, if he thought he could raise as many as ten thousand men, to go ahead. "If I have only ten thousand," said Wallenstein, "we must accept what people choose to give us. If I have thirty thousand, we can take what we like."

The answer makes plain his whole system. His troops supported and paid themselves at the expense of the neighborhood where they were quartered. If it was a district which upheld the Emperor, they took "contributions to the necessity of the empire." If the land opposed him, no polite words were needed to justify its pillage. Within three months Wallenstein had nearly fifty thousand men under his standard, drawn to him by the tempting offers of plunder that his agents held out. If the war had been terrible before, imagine the awful phase it now assumed, and the blighting curse that fell upon unhappy Germany!

Modern justice can find little to choose thereafter between the methods of the opposing armies. We speak, therefore, only of the martial genius which Wallenstein displayed. He completely outmaneuvred Mansfeld, defeated him, and drove him to flight and death. Then Wallenstein and Tilly proceeded to destroy the high military reputation of the Danish king. He was overcome in battle after battle, and his land so completely devastated that he prayed for peace on any terms.

Peace seemed indeed at hand. The remaining Lutheran states of Saxony and Brandenburg, which had been neutral and were as yet almost unharmed, dared not interfere. The Emperor Ferdinand might have arranged everything as he chose had he used his power with moderation. But his hopes had grown with his fortunes, and he seems to have planned the establishment of such an absolute power over Germany as had been the aim of his ancestor, Charles V. Ferdinand passed laws and gave decrees, without any pretence of calling a council, or seeking the approval of the princes. His general, Wallenstein, was given one of the conquered states as his dukedom; and Wallenstein declared openly that his master had no further need of councils; the time had come for Germany to be governed as were France and Spain.

The Catholic princes, with Maximilian of Bavaria at their head, became frightened by the giant they themselves had created, and began to take measures for their own preservation. They demanded that Wallenstein be removed from his command. The Emperor, perhaps himself afraid of his too powerful general, finally consented.

There still remained, however, the serious question whether Wallenstein would accept his dismissal. His huge and ever growing army was absolutely under his control. His influence over the troops was extraordinary. A firm believer in astrology, he asserted that the stars promised him certain success, and his followers believed him. Tall and thin, dark and solemn, silent and grim, wearing a scarlet cloak and a long, blood-red feather in his hat, he was declared by popular superstition to be in league with the devil, invulnerable and unconquerable. No evil act of his soldiery did he ever rebuke. Only two things he demanded of them—absolute obedience and unshaken daring. The man who flinched or disobeyed was executed on the instant. Otherwise the marauders might desecrate God's earth with whatsoever hideous crimes they would. His troops laughed at the idea of being Catholics or Protestants, Germans or Bohemians; they were "Wallensteiners" and nothing else.

Even Ferdinand would scarcely have dared oppose his overgrown servant had not Wallenstein failed in an attempt to capture Stralsund. This little Baltic seaport held out against the assaults of his entire army. Wallenstein vowed that he would capture it, "though it were fastened by chains to heaven"

THE CAMP OF WALLENSTEIN

But each mad attack of his wild troopers was beaten back from the walls by the desperate townsfolk; and at last, with twelve thousand of his men dead, he retreated from before the stubborn port. A superstitious load was lifted from the minds even of those who pretended to be his friends. Wallenstein was not unconquerable.

He accepted the Emperor's notice of removal with haughty disdain. He said he had already seen it in the stars, that evil men had sowed dissension between him and his sovereign, but the end was not yet. He retired to his vast estates in Bohemia, and lived at Prague with a magnificence exceeding that of any court in Germany. His table was always set for a hundred guests. He had sixty pages of the noblest families to wait on him. For chamberlains and other household officials, he had men who came from similar places under the Emperor.

Meanwhile, a new defender had sprung up for exhausted Protestantism. Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, invaded Germany in 1630 and called on the Protestants to help him in the fight to save their faith. All Europe had grown afraid of the tremendous and increasing power of the Hapsburg Emperor. Not only was Protestant England in league with the Swedes, but Catholic France, under its shrewd minister, Richelieu, also upheld them. Still the burden of actual fighting fell upon Gustavus Adolphus, who proved himself the greatest military leader of the age, and, in the eyes of Protestant Europe, the noblest and sublimest man since Luther.

It is not our province to analyze the motives of the Swedish king, the "Lion of the North," as he is called. How much he was actuated by ambition, how much by religion, perhaps he himself might have found it hard to say. His coming marks the turning point of the contest; his brilliant achievements constitute the fourth period of the war.

Tilly opposed him with the army of the Catholic League—Tilly, the victor of thirty desperate battles. The Emperor and his court laughed, and, thinking of the Bohemian king and the Dane, said: "Another of these snow kings has come against us. He, too, will melt in our southern sun."

The Protestant princes hesitated, fearing to join Gustavus; he was hampered on every side. Tilly in his very face stormed the great Protestant city of Magdeburg, and sacked it with such merciless brutalities as raised a cry of horrified disgust, even in that age of atrocities. "Never was such a victory," wrote Tilly to the Emperor, "since the storming of Troy or of Jerusalem. I am sorry you and the ladies of the court were not there to enjoy the spectacle." A heap of blackened ruins, hiding a few hundred famished and broken outcasts, was all that remained of a splendid and prosperous city of forty thousand souls.

Tilly's object in this bloody deed seems to have been to terrify the rest of

Protestant Germany into submission. If so, he failed of his purpose. Gustavus promptly abandoned gentle measures, and by a threat of force compelled the Saxon elector to join him. He then met Tilly in a fierce battle near Leipsic and utterly defeated him. Tilly fled, and his army was almost annihilated, the fugitives who escaped the Swedes falling victims to the vengeance of the enraged Protestant peasantry. Few men who had taken part in the sack of Magdeburg lived long to boast of their achievement.

Gustavus swept victoriously through all the Rhineland. One Catholic prince or bishop after another was defeated. The advance soon became little more than a triumphal procession, city after city opening its gates to welcome him. The Saxon army conquered Bohemia; Gustavus reached Bavaria.

There on the southern bank of the River Lech the Bavarian army under Tilly and Prince Maximilian was drawn up to oppose the passage of the Protestant troops. It seemed impossible to cross the broad and deep stream in the face of such a force and such a general. Gustavus kept up a tremendous cannonade for three days. He burned great fires along the shore, that the smoke might conceal his movements. Tilly was struck down by a cannon ball, the whole Bavarian army fell into confusion, and the Swedes rushed across the river almost unopposed. Maximilian fled with his army; and Bavaria, which as yet had escaped the horrors of the war, was in its turn plundered by an enemy.

The stars in their courses seemed indeed to fight for Wallenstein. From the moment that he was deprived of his command, the triumphant cause of the Emperor had fallen, fallen until now it lay in utter ruin. The Saxons held Bohemia; all western Germany was in Gustavus' hands; nothing interposed between the conquerors and defenceless Austria—nothing but Wallenstein.

Messenger after messenger sped from the Emperor to his offended general, entreating him to reaccept his command. Wallenstein dallied, and postponed his consent, until he had wrung from his despairing sovereign such terms as never general secured before or since. Practically Wallenstein became as exalted in authority as the Emperor himself, and wholly independent of his former master. He was to carry on the war or to make peace entirely as he saw fit, without interference of any sort. Certain provinces of Austria were given him to hold as a guarantee of the Emperor's good faith.

The mere raising of the great general's standard drew around him another army of "Wallensteiners," with whom he marched against Gustavus. Two of the ablest military leaders in history were thus pitted against each other. There were clever marches and countermarches, partial, indecisive attacks, and at last a great culminating battle at Lutzen, in Saxony, November 6, 1632.

Gustavus won; but he perished on the field. He was always exposing him-

TILLY AT THE BATTLE OF THE LECH

self in battle, and at Lutzen he galloped across in the front of his army from one wing to another. A shot struck him—a traitor shot, say some from his own German allies. He fell from his horse, and a band of the opposing cavalry encircled and slew him, not knowing who he was. His Swedes, who adored him, pressed furiously forward to save or avenge their leader. The Wallensteiners, after a desperate struggle, broke and fled before the resistless attack.

Wallenstein himself, his hat and cloak riddled with bullets, rushed in vain among his men, taunting them furiously with their cowardice. It was only the night and the death of Gustavus that prevented the Swedes from reaping the full fruits of their victory. The imperial troops retreated unpursued. Wallenstein held a savage court-martial, and executed all of his men whom he could prove had been among the first in flight.

From this time the war enters on its fifth stage. Wallenstein did little more fighting. He withdrew his troops into Bohemia, and it is hard to say what purposes simmered in his dark and inscrutable brain. He certainly was no longer loyal to the Emperor; probably the Emperor plotted against him. Wallenstein seems to have contemplated making himself king of an independent Bohemian kingdom. At any rate, he broke openly with his sovereign, and at a great banquet persuaded his leading officers to sign an oath that they would stand by him in whatever he did. Some of the more timid among them warned the Emperor, and with his approval formed a trap for Wallenstein. The general's chief lieutenants were suddenly set upon and slain; then the murderers rushed to Wallenstein's own apartments. Hearing them coming, he stood up dauntlessly, threw wide his arms to their blows, and died as silent and mysterious as he had lived. His slayers were richly rewarded by Ferdinand.

All Germany was weary of the war. The contending parties had fought each other to a standstill; and, had Germany alone been concerned, peace would certainly have followed. But the Swedes, abandoning Gustavus' higher policy, continued the war for what increase of territory they could get; and France helped herself to what German cities she could in Alsace and Lorraine. So the war went on, the German princes taking sides now with this one, now the other, and nobody apparently ever thinking of the poor peasantry.

The spirit of the brutal soldiery grew even more atrocious. Their captives were tortured to death for punishment, or for ransom, or, it is to be feared, for the mere amusement of the bestial captors. The open country became everywhere a wilderness. The soldiers themselves began starving in the dismal desert.

The Emperor, Ferdinand II., the cause of all this destruction, died in 1637, and was succeeded by his son, Ferdinand III. (1637–1657). The war still continued, though in a feeble, listless way, with no decisive victories on either

side, until the Peace of Westphalia, in 1648. This peace placed Protestants and Catholics on an equal footing of toleration throughout the empire. It gave Sweden what territory she wanted in the north, and France what she asked toward the Rhine. Switzerland and Holland were acknowledged as independent lands. The importance of the smaller princes was increased, they, too, becoming practically independent, and the power of the emperors was all but destroyed. From this time the importance of the Hapsburgs rested solely on their personal possessions in Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia. The title of Emperor remained little better than a name.

Indeed, Germany itself had become scarcely more than a name. During those terrible thirty years the population of the land is said to have dwindled from fifteen millions to less than five millions. In the Palatinate less than fifty thousand people remained where there had been five hundred thousand. Whole districts everywhere lay utterly waste, wild, and uninhabited. Men killed themselves to escape starvation, or slew their brothers for a fragment of bread. A full description of the horrors of that awful time will never be written; much has been mercifully obliterated. The material progress of Germany, its students say, was retarded by two centuries' growth. To this day the land has not fully recovered from the exhaustion of that awful war.

GUSTAVUS BEFORE NUREMBERG

THE DEATH OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS

FREDERICK I. OF PRUSSIA GOING TO HIS CORONATION

Chapter LXII

THE RISE OF THE HOHENZOLLERNS AND THE GREAT ELECTOR

WE can no longer trace our German story by the simple method of following the lives of the emperors. Their shadowy authority became of small account in the new Germany which rose from the ashes of the Thirty Years' War. The emperors continued as Austrian princes, mighty in Austria, but possessing no more influence in the remainder of Germany than did many of their rivals. From the entire empire outside their personal domains, the Hapsburgs drew an annual income of less than $5,000.

Instead of one solid united kingdom, Germany had become a collection of over two hundred independent little states, each making war or peace as it pleased. Never, by any chance, did all of the princelings fight on the same side in any of the great European struggles that followed. What power they possessed, was thus divided and destroyed. They neutralized one another, and Germany became what Italy had been, the battleground whereon stronger nations fought out their quarrels.

It was thus a new and widely different Germany that slowly rose upon the ancient ruins. Not only had all the accumulated wealth of the country disappeared in the Thirty Years' War, but historians tell us that the very character of the race had changed, not for the better. The proud self-reliance, the resolute independence of former days, had given place to weak fear and fawning submission.

France was now the dominant country of Europe, and French influence, French manners, courtesies, vices, and follies spread an artificial veneer over the upper classes of German society. Most of the little princes squandered their incomes in the vain effort to build palaces and gardens that should rival the gorgeous edifices which the French King, Louis XIV., was erecting at Versailles.

One German ruler stands out as a notable and honorable exception among the foolish spendthrifts. This is Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg, commonly called the Great Elector.

Frederick William was the real founder of modern Germany. His little electorate of Brandenburg rose slowly to power in northern Germany, and became the kingdom of Prussia, which in our own day has taken the rank once held by Austria, and has created under Prussian leadership a new and more united German empire.

The present imperial family of Germany, the Hohenzollerns, are direct descendants of the Great Elector. It is therefore worth our while to turn backward through history for a moment and trace the rise of this renowned race. The Hohenzollerns date away back to Charlemagne's time, and came originally from the same district as the two other great German families, the Hohenstaufens and the Hapsburgs. They lived among the northern hill-slopes of the Alps, the ancient Swabian land. There, in what is now Wurtemberg, still stands the steep hill and stern old castle of Hohenzollern, a name which antiquarians tell us might mean in English "High toll place." Perhaps the lords of the tower were prominent among their fellows, for the tolls they exacted from the weary merchants, whom the Italian trade sent plodding over the Alpine passes.

It was in the time of Frederick Barbarossa that a younger son of the Hohenzollerns, Conrad by name, left the castle, to seek his fortune at the mighty Emperor's court. Only the vaguest outline of Conrad's old romance has come down to us. He married a forlorn heiress, won back the family possessions of which she had been deprived, and was made by Barbarossa Burgrave (*burg-graf*, which means city-count, or governor of the city for the Emperor) of Nuremberg.

Nuremberg is, like Hohenzollern, in southern Germany; and for centuries the descendants of Conrad remained there as chiefs of the city, counts of the empire. One of them, Frederick IV., as you will remember, helped the Hapsburgs to the imperial throne. Another, Frederick, sixth of the name, transferred his family fortunes to northern Germany at the time of the Council of Constance. The Emperor Sigismund was deep in debt, and the Hohenzollerns had grown rich. Frederick lent his Emperor large sums, being given as security

THE CITIZENS OF BERLIN DOING HOMAGE TO FREDERICK I. OF BRANDENBURG

Sigismund's Electorate of Brandenburg. The debts accumulated, and at last Brandenburg, land, people, electoral dignity, and all were sold outright to the Hohenzollern.

Brandenburg was the most northeasterly of the German principalities, lying on both banks of the Elbe, with its capital at Berlin. Originally it had been a frontier land, wrested by the Saxons from the Wends, away back in the days of Henry the City-Builder. Its name came from the old Wendish city and fortress of Brannebor.

Frederick entered on his new authority in 1415. He was already well and favorably known in Brandenburg; and the citizens of Berlin readily took the oath of fealty to his race, which they have so well kept. Frederick's rule was wise and strong. He crushed the robber knights by using cannon against their fortresses. He led a crusading army against the Hussites. Altogether, an important man in his day was this new Elector, Frederick I. of Brandenburg.

In the year 1618, a most important accession expanded the power of the Hohenzollern Electorate. This was the German colony of Prussia. You will remember that Prussia had been won from the heathen after much hard fighting by the Teutonic Order. At the time of the Reformation the Grand Master of the Order happened to be a younger son of the Hohenzollerns. He became Protestant, abolished his Order, and made himself Duke of Prussia, holding the land as a fief of the Polish kingdom. The Duchy of Prussia finally passed by inheritance to the Brandenburg Hohenzollerns in 1618. It still remained, however, a part of the Polish kingdom, a little German island surrounded by Poles, and far to the east of the other German lands.

The Hohenzollern Elector, who held these varied possessions during most of the Thirty Years' War, was a staunch Protestant, but a poor statesman. He tried to keep at peace with both sides and to maintain a strict neutrality, with the result that Brandenburg was repeatedly desolated by both parties. At last its unhappy ruler fled from the misery he could not prevent, to his more distant province of Prussia, and died there, it is said, of a broken heart.

His son was the Great Elector, a man made of sterner stuff. Frederick William, though only twenty when he came to the throne (1640), at once erected his little state into a bulwark of northern Protestantism. He formed a standing army, the beginning of the splendid Prussian armies of later date. There was not much fighting left to do, but Frederick made himself feared, trusted, and respected, and at the peace of 1648 secured for Brandenburg far better terms than his father would have received.

A war between Sweden and Poland soon after gave young Frederick the opportunity to establish his reputation as an able general and statesman. By mingled diplomacy and arms he freed his Duchy of Prussia from Poland. He

thus became, in the Prussian portion of his domains, an independent sovereign, subject not even to the empire.

Frederick next set to work to improve the condition of his people. So shrewd and far-sighted were his efforts for their prosperity, so effective his reforms, that gradually immigrants from the neighboring states began flocking into Brandenburg, and its wealth recuperated far more rapidly than that of other districts. A feeling of trust and of real devotion to their rulers slowly grew up in the hearts of the Brandenburgers, very different from the resentful sentiment sometimes existing in other states of Germany.

The story of the next fifty years is only a wearisome tale of continuous French aggressions. Few kings have ever so frankly and insolently robbed their neighbors as did Louis XIV. By repeated seizures of German territory, he extended his frontier to the Rhine, and in some places even clutched cities upon its further bank. The slow and feeble Hapsburg Emperor, Leopold I. (1657–1705), was no match for him.

The one man who stood up dauntlessly before Louis, and again and again foiled his schemes, was the Great Elector. Louis would even have been made Emperor by his paid German satellites, but for Frederick William's unflinching opposition. So again the Hapsburgs owed their crown to the Hohenzollerns. Frederick's service was repaid with ingratitude. A war had been declared against France, and Frederick marched with his troops to the Rhineland. But the Emperor had arranged a secret treaty with Louis; and the Brandenburgers were purposely ordered from place to place, kept marching and countermarching, and never allowed to attack the French.

Then Sweden also joined Louis's alliance, and, without warning, invaded undefended Brandenburg. It seemed as if the Great Elector was at last caught in Louis's toils and must inevitably be crushed. Now, however, was demonstrated the strength of Frederick's hold upon his subjects. The entire peasantry of Brandenburg rose in their ruler's name and struggled manfully to hold back the Swedes. On their banners was written, "We are only peasants, but we can die for our lord."

The resistance gave Frederick William the time he needed. He left the Rhine country in haste, and by forced marches brought his ardent soldiers back to the "fatherland." He broke right in between two divisions of the Swedish army at Fehrbellin (1675). Only his cavalry were with him, but by brilliant maneuvres he held the Swedes in check, waiting until his infantry could arrive. The rash enthusiasm of some of his troops, however, opened the struggle unexpectedly, and Frederick would not desert them. He was outnumbered more than two to one; his men and horses were exhausted by their long and hurried journey; the Swedes were reputed the best soldiers in Europe.

THE GREAT ELECTOR LANDING AT RUGEN

Seldom has fight been so desperately contested. Frederick himself led his gallant horsemen in charge after charge. He was wounded, his horse shot, more than once his devoted men had to save him—"hew him out" is the German expression—from the midst of the enemy. Half his officers, exposing themselves as recklessly as he, were slain. But he won the battle. The Swedes fled upon every side, and all Europe with one accord united in hailing the victor as the "Great Elector."

He followed up his victory by seizing Pomerania, the coast land of the Baltic, German territory which had been given Sweden by the Peace of Westphalia. Now it was in German hands again. The Elector captured Stralsund, before which Wallenstein had failed. Building himself a navy, he ventured even upon the sea, where hitherto the Swedes had been undisputed masters, and took possession of the Island of Rugen.

The Swedes formed an alliance with Poland; and an army invaded Prussia from the east, but fled before Frederick could attack it. He pursued his foes on sledges, steadily northward over the winter snows. Four hundred miles he followed them along the Baltic coast, came up with them at Riga, and wiped the army out of existence.

Again the treacherous Emperor Leopold deserted Frederick. He had no wish, he said, to see a new Vandal kingdom established in the north. In 1679 at Nymwegen a secret treaty of peace was arranged among all the contending parties except Brandenburg. By this treaty the Elector was to be compelled to return his conquests to Sweden, or all the sovereigns would unite against him. Frederick hesitated, almost ready to do as his grandson Frederick the Great did later—fight them all. At last he surrendered Pomerania.

The very fact that such a coalition was formed against him, proves the height to which Brandenburg had risen. Forty thousand well-trained soldiers moved at the Elector's command. Yet even these did not constitute his main strength. That lay in the hold he had established over the hearts of his countrymen.

Some three years later Louis XIV., standing at the height of his power, withdrew the important "Edict of Nantes," abolishing Protestantism in France, yet forbidding the Protestants to emigrate. The persecuted sect fled secretly by thousands. The Great Elector came openly forward and offered them a refuge in his domains. Louis was furious, but the Elector stood firm. Probably twenty thousand of the refugees established themselves in Brandenburg. They greatly increased the land's wealth and prosperity, not only by bringing it clever brains and dextrous hands, but by adding to the strong and earnest Christian element, who would cling, in spite of suffering and persecution, to their faith.

The Great Elector died in 1688, after a successful reign of forty-eight years. He had made Brandenburg the leading state of northern Germany, the rival of Austria and the champion of European Protestantism. In the closing year of his life, he succeeded in uniting almost all the German states in a strong league against Louis XIV., and was himself about to lead a great imperial army against France, when death closed his high and honorable career.

During all this period southern Germany had languished under the Emperor Leopold's guidance. He, or rather his generals, had to fight three hard wars against the Turks. In 1683 the Turkish Grand Vizier besieged Vienna with an army of over two hundred thousand men. Leopold and his court fled, leaving the city to its fate. The citizens, however, defended themselves desperately. When starvation approached, they lived on cats and dogs and mice. The Turks, weary of the long siege, made a tremendous assault. It was repulsed, but the exhausted city seemed on the verge of falling. Suddenly a Polish and German army of relief appeared under the famous Polish King, John Sobieski. The Turks, confident in their enormous number, sent only a portion of their force to meet Sobieski. But such was the valor of the Polish King, and such the energy of his troops, that they drove the whole confused horde of the Turks into headlong flight.

So vast was the plunder gained on the battlefield that Sobieski was at a loss to know what to do with it, and wrote home to the Polish Queen: "An incalculable booty has fallen into our hands. The camels, mules, and captive Turks are driven by me in herds. I myself have fallen heir to the treasures of the Grand Vizier. . . . I cannot describe all his luxurious baths, fountains, gardens, wild animals. Some of the quivers alone are worth thousands of dollars."

In the Turkish camp were found letters showing that Louis XIV. had urged the Mahometans to war against the Emperor; and there were French plans directing them how to carry on the siege. It is said that coffee first became a common drink in Vienna at this time, and spread thence through the rest of Europe, so enormous was the supply of coffee beans left behind by the Turks.

Leopold was ungrateful to Sobieski, as he had been to the Great Elector. "How should an Emperor meet a King of Poland?" he asked his counsellors. "With open arms," answered the generous Duke of Lorraine, who had led the German army to the rescue. Leopold, however, met Sobieski with a cold Latin oration of thanks, nor would he allow the Polish wounded within the city. The Poles were so disgusted that they besought their chief to abandon the war; but he continued fighting the Turks until he had completely driven them from Hungary.

Luckily for Leopold, he finally chanced upon a great general for himself,

THE GREAT ELECTOR WELCOMING THE FRENCH REFUGEES

Prince Eugene of Savoy, a fiery, dashing, little hero, who had been educated in France for a churchman. Louis XIV. laughed at the dapper little abbé when he insisted on being a soldier. Eugene fled from France, entered the Austrian service, and rose by his valor and ability to be commanding general. He defeated the Turks repeatedly, finally crushing them in a tremendous battle at Zenta, 1697. The Turks were never afterward dangerous to Europe.

Meanwhile, the German wars with Louis XIV. had continued. In 1688, after the death of the Great Elector, the French troops under General Turenne entered the Rhenish Palatinate. Knowing they could not retain it, they proceeded systematically to make it a desert. The inhabitants were themselves compelled to destroy their houses, plough down their growing crops, and leave the country. Many of them perished in the cold. General Melac sacked Heidelberg and blew up its beautiful castle. The graves, wherein some of the German emperors had been laid at Spires, were broken open; and the French soldiers played at ten-pins with the ancient bones and skulls. This wanton savagery of the French has not even yet been either forgotten or forgiven by the Germans.

All Europe except Bavaria was at length drawn into an alliance against France and the Bavarian duchy. The struggle that followed is called the war of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714), because it arose from Louis's effort to have his grandson succeed to the throne of Spain, where the Hapsburg descendants of Charles V. had died out. Of course the Austrian Hapsburgs claimed the succession for themselves.

This war was the turning-point of Louis's fortunes. Prince Eugene came back from defeating the Turks, to fight the mighty master who had laughed at him. England sent her famous general, Marlborough, to help him, and the two beat the French in one great battle after another: Blenheim, Oudenarde, Malplaquet. The names are as glorious in English history as in German.

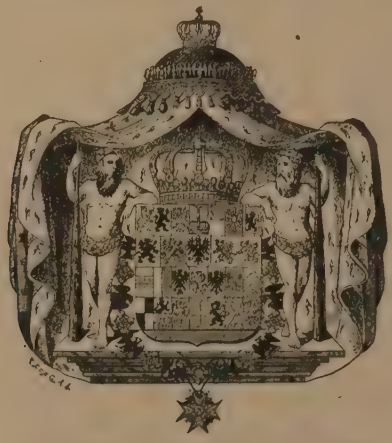
Blenheim, the first of these tremendous victories, completely broke the strength of poor Bavaria. The land was seized by Austrian troops, against whom the Bavarian peasants rose in loyal support of their rulers. A rumor arising that the young Bavarian princes were to be carried as prisoners from Munich, the peasants stormed the city, under the leadership of the giant smith Balthes, who himself smashed in the city gate, crying, "Save the children!" The uprising was without result. The Bavarian nobles made peace with the Emperor by abandoning the peasantry, who were betrayed upon every side, and suffered all the punishment for their Elector's union with the French.

The struggles of the great nations gave lesser rulers a chance to rise. Within twenty years of one another, three electors of northern Germany became kings, as did also one lesser German prince. The first to mount to this new

dignity was Augustus the Strong, Elector of Saxony, who in 1697, after Sobieski's death, was chosen as King of Poland. Augustus was said to be the handsomest, strongest, and most dashing man in Europe; but he was profligate and vain. To win the Polish crown he changed his religion and became a Catholic. This lessened the number of Protestant electors, and resulted in the general acceptance of a new elector, whom the Emperor had created and added to their number, the Protestant Duke of Hanover. A few years later (1714) an elector of Hanover became King of England as George I. Sweden also received a German king in 1718, its throne passing by marriage to the Prince of Hesse-Cassel.

For our present story, however, the most important kingship was that conferred on the Elector of Brandenburg, Frederick III., son of the Great Elector. Frederick, jealous of the rise of the Saxon Augustus, strong in the power bequeathed him by his father, demanded as the price of his help in the War of the Spanish Succession that he, too, should be allowed to assume the title of king. Brandenburg was, of course, the property of the empire, but Prussia was his as an independent ruler. So on January 18, 1701, he was, by unanimous consent of the allied sovereigns, crowned King of Prussia at Koenigsberg, the capital of the Prussian duchy.

Most of his contemporaries laughed quietly over the vanity of the man who took such elaborate trouble to change one empty title for another. But the wise general, Prince Eugene, foreseeing what an added unity and influence this would give to the growing power and scattered dominions of the Hohenzollerns, said: "The Emperor ought to have hanged every minister who counselled him to make this dangerous concession to the Brandenburgers."



Coat of Arms of the First King of Prussia

THE ATTEMPTED RESCUE OF THE BAVARIAN PRINCES

FREDERICK THE GREAT PLANNING SANS-SOUCI

Chapter LXIII

THE KINGDOM OF PRUSSIA AND FREDERICK THE GREAT

WITH the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Electorate of Brandenburg and the Prussian duchy entered upon their new career as the Kingdom of Prussia. The new king, known as Frederick I. of Prussia, was, as you have seen, a vain man. He copied the extravagancies and luxuries of the French court. Berlin, his capital, was enlarged and beautified until it became almost a new city. The royal palace, the splendid edifices at Charlottenburg, and the famous street "Under the Lindens," are all of Frederick I.'s creation. He was also a patron of art, and a frequent visitor at the studios of artists, especially that of the sculptor Schluter, who modelled for him the well-known Berlin statue of the Great Elector.

In his enthusiasm Frederick forgot the mercantile caution which had been so characteristic of the Hohenzollerns. He taxed his people heavily, injured the prosperity of the state, and did much to weaken the loyalty of the lower classes toward his house.

He was succeeded in 1713 by his son, Frederick William I. (1713–1740). This king determined to copy the German prudence and wisdom of his grandfather rather than the French follies of his father. The country prospered greatly under his rule. He governed it strictly as a mercantile establishment, thriftily, cautiously, laboriously, with no expenditure or display. His wife was allowed but a single waiting-woman, while in the Austrian court there were over a hundred. The King himself was the centre of every department, work-

ing hard and honestly, and exacting similar efforts from each subordinate. In the course of his twenty-seven years of rule, he almost trebled the resources of his country.

Unfortunately, he carried his scorn of French manners so far in other directions that he is not always a pleasant figure to contemplate. He declined having any manners at all, even those of common politeness, about his court. He and his counsellors met in a bare hall, more like a tavern than a place for dignified consultation; and there they drank beer and smoked, and played coarse, practical jokes upon one another. The King had a couple of little bear cubs whom it was his special sport to set unexpectedly on the back of the learned writer Gundling, who was made the butt of the other counsellors.

This remarkable assemblage was known all over Europe as "the tobacco parliament." Foreign ambassadors were compelled to state their business before it, and one of the King's chief delights was to get his distinguished guests drunk, or to sicken them with the tobacco smoke.

In his daily life also, Frederick William abandoned all courtesy and kindliness. His counsellors, his children, and even his wife were beaten with his heavy cane, whenever they angered him. As he wandered through the streets of Berlin, any man he found idle was apt to receive a similar caning. Once while out riding he met a poor Jew, who tried to slink away as the savage old King approached. "What are you sneaking off for," thundered Frederick. "How dare you fear me!" and he began belaboring the unfortunate with his whip, crying all the while "Stop fearing me, you rascal! Love me! Love me!"

He had an almost insane passion for recruiting his army with very tall men. His agents scoured Europe in quest of these giants, and kidnapped them wherever found. Cruel outrages naturally resulted, and Prussia even came near being involved in serious war. Frederick's "*langen kerle*" (long fellows) were his one extravagance, and upon them he spent millions of dollars. Foreign monarchs, wishing to gain some favor from him, would send him presents of giants. He even tried to cultivate a race of his favorites for himself, by compelling his grenadiers to mate with the tallest women that could be found.

His *langen kerle* were never used in war, being altogether too expensive a luxury. Indeed, there was not much war in Frederick's time, and in the little there was, he was far too shrewd and economical to engage recklessly. His chief general was his cousin, Prince Leopold of Dessau, the "Old Dessauer" as he was called, a man after the King's own heart. Once in church, the pastor gave out a hymn in which occurred the words,

> "Nor hunger, nor thirst,
> Nor want, nor pain,
> Nor wrath of the Grim Prince
> Shall me restrain."

FREDERICK I. ADMIRING SCHLUTER'S STATUE OF THE GREAT ELECTOR

The "Old Dessauer," seated below, started up in a rage and rushed at the preacher with upraised stick. "It is Beelzebub I mean, Your Highness!" shrieked the terrified man. "Beelzebub, not Your Highness!" Convinced with difficulty that the defiance had not been meant for him personally, the prince sank back into his seat, still angrily shaking his head and growling over his offended dignity.

Both Frederick and he, however, were beloved by their people, who recognized the honesty and usefulness of their rugged rule. The Prince of Dessau created a remarkable army of the Prussian troops, taught them to use the bayonet, and to load and fire their guns with a rapidity and accuracy which made the army far more effective than any other in Europe.

The King employed his new troops to drive the Swedes from most of Pomerania, the coast land which the Great Elector had won and lost between Brandenburg and the Baltic sea. The people of Pomerania welcomed their annexation to the prosperous and well-governed kingdom, and Frederick William was thus able to add this important province permanently to his domains. He prepared for his son a Prussian kingdom, wealthy, powerful, and loyal to its rulers beyond any other state of the time.

That son, Frederick II., became the most renowned of all the Prussian sovereigns and generals. "Frederick the Great" history calls him, and great he certainly was in the stern courage with which he faced his fate. No man ever passed through a more tempestuous life, or experienced more tragic extremes of fortune. No man ever endured them more bravely.

Even his childhood was a struggle. Though reared in that coarse repulsive court of Frederick William, he was of finer mould than his father. He avoided taking part in the drinking orgies and practical jokes; he was, in his father's opinion, too much inclined toward French fripperies, learned to play the flute, dabbled a bit in scientific studies, talked atheism, and even wrote witty letters suspiciously French in style.

The grim old King was disgusted that he should have so effeminate a son. Young Frederick and his favorite sister, Wilhelmina, became their father's special aversion. He half starved them, she declares. He certainly made their lives unbearable by his taunts, vulgar torments, and furious beatings. Even when Frederick grew to be a young man the beatings continued. Twice at least the King came near taking his life, once striving to run him through with a sword, and at another time nearly strangling him with a curtain cord.

Frederick in his desperation at last determined to run away. He was caught, tried by court-martial as a deserter from the army, and condemned by his father to be shot. The savage old tyrant seems to have been in earnest, too, having a second son whom he much preferred as a successor for his throne.

It was only after earnest entreaty from all sides, even from the Emperor, that the parent relented and sullenly pardoned his son. The prince's chief comrade and admirer, a somewhat dissolute young Lieutenant Katte, who had helped him in his flight, was executed; and the prince was compelled to witness the death scene, his face, we are told, being held by force to the window of his prison cell.

Some sort of reconciliation was finally patched up between father and son; for Frederick spoke of his parent in after days with little love perhaps, but always with grave respect. The young prince devoted himself zealously to the work of the government, married the bride his father selected, and was given a palace and establishment of his own at Rheinsburg, where science was encouraged and men of learning made welcome. Frederick was even allowed to correspond at will with witty and irreligious Frenchmen, Voltaire among the number. The years from 1733 to 1740, which Frederick spent in this quiet retirement of Rheinsburg, he was wont to declare were the happiest of his life.

By his writings, and even more by his ready, biting tongue, he made for himself quite a name in the literary world. Men of learning looked eagerly to the time when this able philosopher, this clever wit, should ascend the Prussian throne. They counted on much theoretical improvement in the government, and something, perhaps, of practical benefit to themselves.

While this strangely contrasting father and son were thus preparing Prussia for larger destinies, let us glance for a moment at what was going on in the remainder of Germany. There was little that is pleasant to record. Saxony, which had once been more powerful than Prussia, was staggering to ruin under the vain and luxurious Augustus the Strong, who treated his German possessions as quite subordinate to his Polish kingdom. His successor, Augustus III., not only preyed upon Saxony himself, but surrendered it to the even more heartless plundering of wicked favorites.

Hanover, too, had suffered through the elevation of its ruler, the Elector George. After he ascended the English throne, Hanover became little more than an English province. The Elector's portrait was placed upon a chair, and all the forms of government were gone through, with polite address to the picture, as if the potentate himself sat there. It is very possible that the picture comported itself with more dignity and propriety than the real George would have done; but it could not say "No!" to any of the oppressions and cruelties suggested to it by greedy ministers.

The common people everywhere were ground beneath the feet of petty tyrants, to whom in most places they submitted with a weakness in strange contrast to the ancient German sturdiness. It was at this time that the practice

THE TOBACCO PARLIAMENT

of selling troops for the use of other countries began in Germany. Frederick, Duke of Gotha, inaugurated the shameful traffic in 1733. Following his example, many of the petty princes forced their subjects into regiments, held them together under threat of death for desertion, and then sold them like cattle at so much per head, to be butchered in foreign lands, in wars which they did not understand.

What wonder that patriotism died out in German breasts! Emigration began, at first to Prussia, which despite its standing army of eighty thousand men, was a paradise in comparison with other states. In Prussia a man might at least live, and toil for himself, and believe as his heart taught him. Then came emigration to the far-away colonies in America, the first Germans to settle there in numbers coming from Wurtemberg in 1717.

England and France were in the van of civilization. Germany, with its rulers brutal and selfish, its cities wasted and impoverished, its peasants downtrodden and spiritless, seemed hopelessly in the rear. The shadowy Emperors, seated in state in their far-off Vienna court, did nothing to improve the disastrous condition of affairs. The sluggish Leopold was succeeded by an energetic son, Joseph I. (1705–1711), but Joseph died before he had done anything except to war successfully against France.

He gave place to his brother, Charles VI. (1711–1740), chiefly famous for the extravagance of his household. Half the population of Vienna ate regularly at Charles' expense. There were forty thousand official positions attached to the imperial court. The openness with which he was robbed astounds us. Every day the stewards charged twelve quarts of the finest wine for the Empress' night drink, and two barrels of Tokay wine for dipping the bread for her parrots.

Charles VI. was the last Hapsburg in the male line. Having no sons or brothers, he, during all his reign, principally exercised his diplomatic talents in inducing every one to promise that his daughter, Maria Theresa, should succeed him. She could not be empress in her own name; but she was to rule all the hereditary lands of the family, and her husband Francis, Duke of Lorraine, whom she wed in 1736, was to be Emperor. Every court of Germany, and most of the foreign ones, agreed with solemn oaths to this succession, and Charles seems to have died content in the belief that they would keep their word. The utter faithlessness which was the accepted "diplomacy" of the time, might have taught him better.

The year 1740 was an important one in Germany. Shrewd, parsimonious, old Frederick William of Prussia died in May. The foolish, extravagant Emperor Charles passed away in October. New blood came to the front; Frederick II. (1740–1786), the witty young philosopher, ruled in Prussia; Maria

Theresa, a fair and tender young wife and mother, in Austria. It seems strange that these two able rulers did not become friends, instead of astounding the world with their prodigious struggles. But the young philosopher proved wholly unlike what his friends had expected. He dreamed of military glory, was eager to build up the fame and power of Prussia, to advance still higher the rising star of the Hohenzollerns. Remember that as yet his little domain was not regarded by any means as on a level with Austria. Prussia was still one of the lesser German states, like Saxony and Bavaria and Hanover. Austria was queen over them all, one of the three great European kingdoms.

Frederick was the first to break the general promise that Maria Theresa should have the Hapsburg states. Almost without warning he invaded the Austrian province Silesia, the long narrow strip of land stretching along the River Oder from Brandenburg to Hungary. Brandenburg had some ancient title to this territory, so Frederick seized it, and then sent word to Maria Theresa that he would support her other claims if she would yield what he had taken.

She indignantly refused his offer, though she sorely needed help. Every state in Europe was turning against her, each clamoring for a slice of the Austrian domains. Most of the German principalities joined France in open war against the queen, and instead of electing her husband as Emperor, chose the Elector of Bavaria, who thus wins a brief and doubtful place among the German Emperors as Charles VII. (1742–1745).

Frederick of Prussia, with the splendid Prussian army, defeated the Austrians in battle after battle, and drove them out of Silesia. His first victory, however, reflects little credit upon him. It was at Mollwitz, and the hurly-burly and confusion seemed, to his inexperienced eye, to show that the battle was lost. "Adieu, gentlemen," he is reported to have said, "I am the best mounted." Urging his horse to flight he took refuge in a flour mill, where he was found by his triumphant general and assured of victory. You may be sure the wits of Europe did not lose the chance of jibing at their brother wit. Voltaire said, "The King emerged from the battle covered with glory—and flour."

The Austrian Queen sought to secure peace, but the demands of Frederick, like those of many another highwayman, rose with his fortunes. He was only superior to most of the sovereigns around him in that he made no hypocritical pretense of honor. "Promises!" he said scornfully to an English ambassador. "Who nowadays pretends to keep them? Does England or France? I have an invincible army. I want Silesia. I have taken it and mean to keep it. Let those who want peace yield me my demands."

FREDERICK AT RHEINSBURG

The state of affairs began to look disastrous for poor Maria Theresa. Silesia was lost; Bohemia in the hands of the Saxons; Vienna itself almost in the power of French and Bavarians. Charles of Bavaria was proclaimed Duke of Austria as well as Emperor. Only Hungary remained to the Queen. She appeared before the Hungarian parliament looking so fair and so imploring, and withal so brave and resolute, that the people rallied gallantly to her support. When she presented her infant son to the parliament and declared the Hungarians were her only hope, legend says that every sword flashed forth and every voice was raised in a splendid, dramatic oath, "We will die for our ruler, Maria Theresa."

The Empress-Queen, as she came to be called, was finally compelled to surrender Silesia to Frederick, and thus make peace with him. Then foot by foot her generals drove the other foes out of her land, and following them over the border, conquered the whole of Bavaria. Poor Charles VII. died, declaring he had been made a tool by France. His son was given back Bavaria on condition of helping Austria. The French, with England's aid, were forced once more out of Germany; and Maria's husband, Francis of Lorraine, was crowned Emperor as Francis I. (1745–1765).

Francis was never more than a figure head. His wife ruled all the Austrian possessions; and we have seen that the mere title of Emperor had lost all value and significance. The Empress, though loving her husband devotedly, retained the power she had so well earned. The direct descendants of the pair reign in Austria to-day, and the old name of Hapsburg still clings to the family, though technically, of course, they are no longer Hapsburgs, but have become, through Francis, the house of Lorraine.

The successes of Maria Theresa left her only one unconquered enemy; and with dogged resolution she strove, in 1744, to win back Silesia from Prussia. But Frederick had come to the fulness of his power, and, as always during his reign, he read in advance the purpose of his foes and acted while they were still engaged in discussion. From Silesia he advanced suddenly into Bohemia. The old Prince of Dessau, who had made the Prussian army so efficient, was still in Frederick's service, and the two defeated the Austrians in one brilliant battle after another. Yet the credit for Hohenfriedberg, Sorr, and Kesselsdorf, the three most famous victories of the war, must be given mainly to the Prussian common soldiers. Opposed to overwhelming numbers, the men displayed a steady discipline, a sturdy, unshakable valor, which the Austrians could not match. The Prussians proved to all the world that in them the ancient German spirit was reawakening. The care and wisdom with which Frederick and his ancestors had ruled in peace, he reaped the fullest value of in war.

This "Second Silesian War," as it is called, first won for Frederick, from admirers of military genius, the title of Great. Prussia and Austria had met in fair fight. Indeed, Austria had been aided by Saxony, which was jealous of the growing strength of her neighbor. Yet Prussia, the little, new, scarce-known kingdom had defeated the large, old, and famous one. Henceforth Austria was compelled to acknowledge Prussia as her equal and her rival.

FREDERICK AND THE MILLER OF SANS-SOUCI

FREDERICK'S LITERARY CIRCLE AT SAN-SOUCI

FREDERICK WATCHING THE DISASTER AT KUNNERSDORF

Chapter LXIV

FREDERICK'S SEVEN YEARS' WAR

THE eleven years' peace that followed the Silesian wars, was regarded by both Austria and Prussia as merely a time of preparation for further hostilities. Frederick the Great kept up the careful, economical administration of his father. The advantages of the Prussian system, of governing for the good of the people, were clearly shown in Silesia. Instead of remaining, like most conquered lands in history, a sullen and rebellious province, it became loyally Prussian, and clung tenaciously to its new king through all the disasters that followed.

Frederick made himself, as his father had been, the first servant of the state. Every matter passed personally through his hands, and he saw straight into its heart, and settled the question with keen, sarcastic comments. A chamberlain sent him a petition to be allowed to go to the health baths at Aix. The King merely jotted down on the face of the application, "He would gamble away the little money he has, and come back a beggar." A city forwarded a protest against having troops quartered upon it. "Do they think," wrote Frederick on the protest, "I can carry my regiments in my pocket?"

His only pleasure was in his palace of Sans-Souci ("without care"), where he chatted with his French friends, Voltaire and others, and quarrelled with them when they grew too impertinent. He wrote orchestral music and led his musicians in playing it, himself performing upon his beloved flute. The music was

not specially brilliant; but neither was it bad, the soul of melody was in the man, and the wonderful musical development of Germany owes something at least to his example and encouragement.

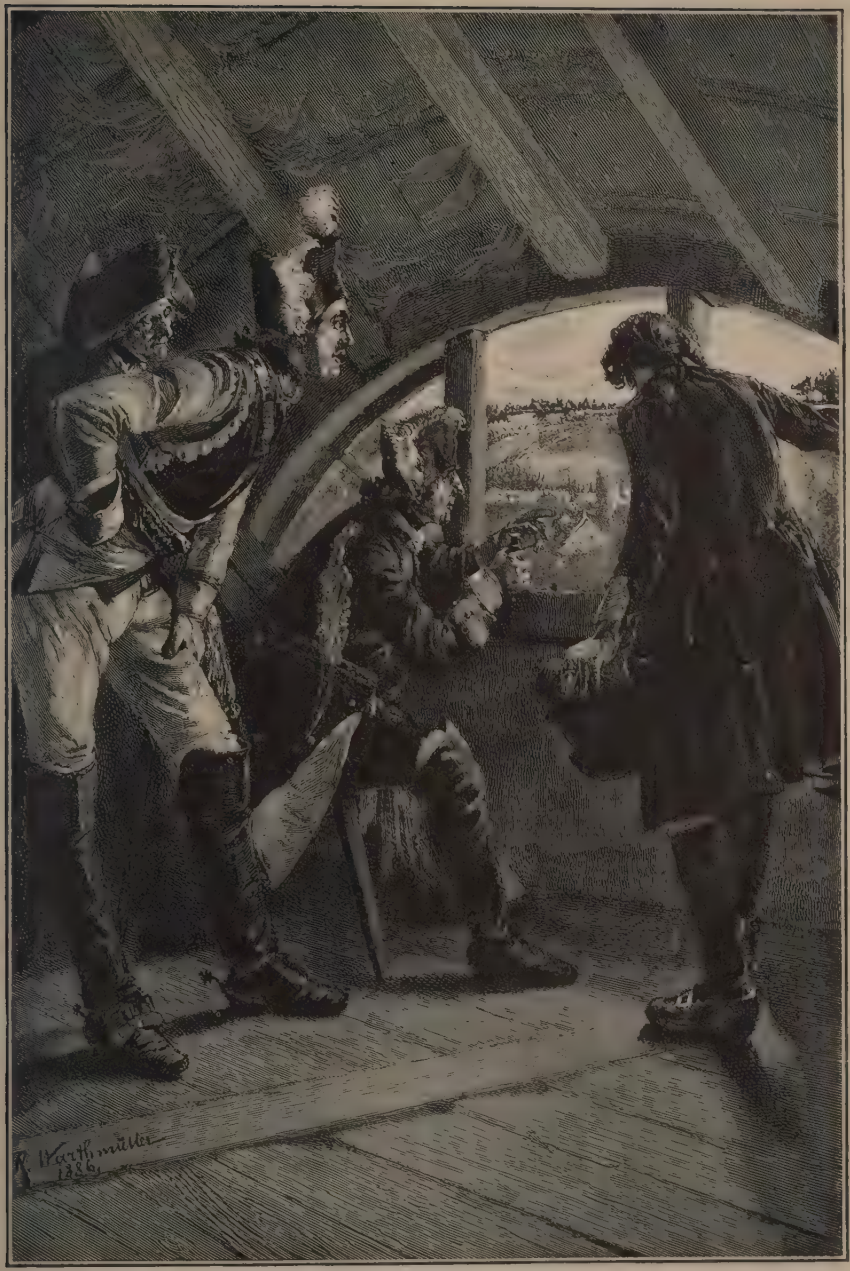
Frederick was the most powerful embodiment of the new progressive ideas of the age, while Maria Theresa was the noblest example of the old, conservative, Catholic spirit. She, too, governed her people well, so that they always looked upon her with love, as a mother as well as a queen. It was said of her, as of the English Elizabeth, that she made every man about her a hero. She never changed; she never forgot. "When I am dead," she is reported to have said, "they will find the word 'Silesia' cut into my heart." Her army was increased and carefully trained upon the Prussian model. Through her chief statesman, Kaunitz, she sought to ally all Europe against Prussia. Gradually a colossal combination was formed to crush the rising state.

Frederick suspected it, struggled against it, delayed the blow for eleven years. At last, in 1756, his spies warned him that the moment was at hand. Without waiting to be attacked he marched suddenly upon Saxony. Austrian troops hurried to Saxony's help, and though Frederick defeated them at Lobositz, the battle was sanguinary and desperate. It became at once apparent that these were new Austrians with whom Frederick had to deal, the equals of his own men in discipline, almost their equals in valor and devotion. The result must depend henceforward not upon men, but upon commanders—and upon numbers.

The Saxon troops, however, were still of the old worthless type. Frederick overwhelmed them with ease, and seized Dresden, the Saxon capital. There he found, as he had expected, proofs of the secret and even treacherous alliance against him, and he published the papers to all the world to justify his sudden attack.

The great monarchies of Europe, Austria, France, and Russia were allied in a scheme to crush Frederick and divide his territory. Sweden, Spain, and the German empire, that is, most of the little German states, had either entered, or soon did enter, the combination against him. England, which included Hanover, and a few allied German states, lent him doubtful and wavering support. Except for that, he stood alone against united Europe.

Nevertheless, the great powers were unready. Saxony was crushed under Frederick's foot, and he spent the winter of 1756 in triumph at the conquered capital. There in the midst of diplomatic efforts for peace and energetic preparations for war, he enjoyed the Dresden opera, gave court fêtes, and attended divine service at both Catholic and Protestant churches. He remained the gay and witty philosopher. If he foresaw the tremendous struggle before him, he gave no sign of weakness or of fear.



FREDERICK THE GREAT AT ROSSBACH

With the spring of 1757 he was instantly alert and attacked the Austrians in Bohemia. He put them to flight in one fiercely fought contest; but another army advanced, and he suffered his first repulse at Kollin. A sudden change which he made in his plan of battle brought confusion and defeat. He rushed among his soldiers with desperate courage, beating them with his cane, trying to rally them in face of a murderous fire, crying "You rascals! Do you want to live forever?" But he demanded more than human valor could perform. An officer stopped him as he pushed forward into the front rank. "Your Majesty," he demanded, "do you mean to fight the battle alone?"

The remaining soldiers forced him tenderly from the field. An old guardsman brought him a drink of water in his iron cap, saying, "Never mind, Sire, God and we will yet mend this for you." Few generals have ever won from their men such intense personal devotion and sympathy as he. They understood that Europe meant to crush him and them, and their sorrow, their resolute resistance, seemed as much for his sake as for their own.

The Austrians occupied Silesia. The Russians pushed into East Prussia, defeating the army Frederick had left there. The French, who had been held back by the English in Hanover, made peace there and advanced against him from the west. Each army of the three that surrounded him, far exceeded his own in numbers.

It was when his cause thus seemed hopeless, that the genius of the man shone forth in its greatest splendor. With scarcely twenty thousand Prussian troops, he awaited sixty thousand French and Imperialists at Rossbach (November 5, 1757). So quiet did his forces remain that the French believed he was in despair, and abandoning their strong position, spread out their army so as to encircle him and prevent his escape. From the garret window of an old manor house, Frederick and his generals watched with grim satisfaction the extending and weakening of the enemies' lines. At the proper moment there came a single command from Frederick's lips, and the scene changed like the sudden transformation of a pantomime. The silence burst into volcanic action. The Prussian cavalry charged with whirlwind enthusiasm. The Frenchmen, struck with sudden panic, scarce waited for the attack. So headlong was their flight that they were called "the winged army." Frederick lost less than four hundred men; the French over ten thousand, with all their artillery and baggage, and their army was dispersed beyond regathering.

It was a shameful defeat. It is said that the Austrians themselves exulted in this overthrow of their ancient foes; and every German heart warmed toward Frederick. France has never forgotten that memorable day. More than a century later, in the war of 1870, among the French rallying cries was "Remember Rossbach."

The turn of the Austrians came a month afterward, when Frederick defeated them at Leuthen. It was one of his most magnificent battles, a masterpiece of military strategy against worthy opponents who almost thrice outnumbered his own troops. The battle centred round the old stone church of Leuthen, which was taken and retaken by the contending forces. As night fell the Austrians broke and fled. A Prussian grenadier, standing in the graveyard by the church, raised his voice in solemn thankfulness, chanting the hymn "*Nun danket alle Gott*" (Now let all thank God). The strains were taken up by his comrades, until the entire army stood bareheaded amid the snow of that December night, and in mighty chorus echoed the warlike hymn of thanksgiving to God. Henceforward the solemn singing of that hymn became the established custom of the Prussians after each of the many victories to which their great commander led them.

Napoleon, the most famed of military leaders, has said of Leuthen: "It was a masterpiece of planning, of execution, and of pluck." Over twenty thousand Austrian prisoners fell into Frederick's hands, and almost as many more immediately surrendered at Breslau. His prisoners outnumbered his own forces.

After the battle the Prussians pressed forward so rapidly that Frederick narrowly escaped capture himself. Some of the fleeing Austrians had stopped for the night at Lissa, never dreaming the pursuit would reach so far. There Frederick came unexpectedly upon them. He was followed by but a handful of men, and had his foes known it, was really their prisoner; but he saluted them so coolly that they supposed his army was at his back, and dispersed in hasty flight.

The next year at Zorndorf Frederick defeated the Russians, who were cruelly ravaging East Prussia. This battle of Zorndorf ranks among the most desperately fought in history. The Russians gave no opportunity for Frederick to display his skill in maneuvring. They simply stood in a vast solid square and awaited his attack. His men were outnumbered as usual—thirty thousand to fifty thousand—and so stubborn was the fight that twenty thousand of the Russians fell before the survivors took to flight. Frederick himself lost a third of his army.

In truth this great commander had reached the point where victory was almost as disastrous to him as defeat. To his relentless foes the loss of an army meant only the raising of another to take its place; but Frederick no longer had recruits from whom to replenish his diminished ranks. He was like an exhausted lion, surrounded by a horde of fierce and hungry wolves, who must wear out his strength at last.

His face began to grow haggard and old; the beauty and brightness of his younger days faded. Only the grim, iron, Hohenzollern soul of the man re-

THE PRUSSIAN ASSAULT ON THE OLD STONE CHURCH AT LEUTHEN

mained. He would not yield. He began to carry poison round with him, determined not to survive the final catastrophe. He was defeated this year at Hochkirch, and on the same day his beloved sister, Wilhelmina, died.

The next year, 1759, he suffered the worst defeat of his career at Kunnersdorf, from the united Austrians and Russians. For a time the victory seemed Frederick's, but the Prussians, physically worn out, at last gave way. The King had two horses shot under him and a bullet struck him in the breast, but slantingly, and did little injury. He galloped wildly about the field crying out, "Will no ball come to me and end it?" Of all his army barely five thousand men remained to him. Had his foes pressed forward they would have found Berlin and all Prussia at their mercy. Frederick sent word to the capital warning the citizens to look to their own safety, as he had no means of protecting them. The despatch ended, "All is lost. Farewell forever."

But the victors quarrelled among themselves and did not immediately follow him. The English defeated the French in Hanover, and when finally the Austrians and Russians began their delayed advance upon Berlin, they found Frederick with his little army reinforced, and his mighty spirit roused to new hope. Once more he defied them.

The Russian interest in the war began to grow half-hearted. Frederick's subjugation was proving difficult and expensive beyond all calculation. Elizabeth, the sovereign of Russia, had entered the contest through personal hatred of Frederick, roused by his too sarcastic tongue. Her son and heir was, on the contrary, an enthusiastic admirer of the great Prussian king. Elizabeth was failing rapidly in health, and Russian generals could not afford to antagonize their coming sovereign by being too successful against his friend.

Two more years dragged on and still the lion, though ever growing weaker, fought desperately amid his foes. Then Elizabeth died, and at once the Russians changed sides and joined Prussia. Sweden, too, abandoned the struggle. Spain had never taken more than a nominal part in it. Saxony was crushed, the other German states indifferent, and France busy with England. Poor Maria Theresa, her heart bleeding because of the awful cost to her own country, but with "Silesia" still engraved within her breast, determined to fight on alone. It was to be Austria now, against the combined strength of Russia and Prussia.

Before, however, a single battle could be fought, the new Russian monarch was deposed by his wife, and she sent hurried word to her general, Czernichef, to withdraw from the Prussian alliance and remain neutral. Frederick and Czernichef had just completed their preparations to attack the Austrians at Reichenbach. The friendly Russian general put his orders in his pocket. They could not be disobeyed, but, as Frederick pointed out, they need not be

immediately proclaimed to everybody. Frederick himself at once attacked the Austrians. A large force of these remained opposite the Russians, expecting their assault. The remainder were overwhelmed by Frederick and the whole army routed.

Russia took no further part in the war. There were one or two minor Prussian victories, and then Maria Theresa, worn out at last, and convinced that, for her, Frederick was indeed unconquerable, consented to a peace, 1763, by which Prussia retained Silesia. The struggle had been by no means so destructive as the appalling Thirty Years' War. For instance, Berlin itself was at one time in the hands of the enemy, yet it escaped very lightly with a fine and a partial plundering of royal palaces. Nevertheless, a grim and awful responsibility lies with those few ambitious rulers who to satisfy their own petty ambitions or personal spite sacrificed hundreds of thousands of soldiers in battle, and spread even sadder desolation among the poor unfortunates who took no part in the miserable conflict. It is said that in Saxony and Bohemia alone, three hundred thousand peasants perished of starvation.

This truly remarkable struggle, the "Seven Years' War" as it is called, has been dwelt upon at some length, because it is regarded as one of the most memorable in history, both in its events and its results. If we sought the four greatest names in German history before Bismarck, they would probably be given by common consent as Charlemagne, Barbarossa, Luther, and Frederick the Great; and Frederick's fame rests mainly upon this war. For seven years he withstood the assaults of all Europe. Austria put forth every effort against him; and while it is true that his other opponents were at times wavering and divided, still he did in turn fight them all. He gave battle repeatedly to forces three or four times as numerous as his own. His successes were triumphs of genius over force; his defeats almost equally glorious in the courage with which they were endured and repaired.

The Prussians proved themselves a nation of heroes. Never was king so loyally supported. At Zorndorf his famous cavalry general, Seidlitz, disobeyed an order, seeing that thus he could win the victory. Frederick sent him word that his head should answer for his disobedience. "Tell the king," said Seidlitz, "he can have my head after the battle. Now it must be used in his service." The sacrifice of his head was not, however, demanded of him. His attack succeeded and Frederick embracing him on the field of victory admitted that the cavalry leader had been wiser than he. Indeed, Seidlitz and others of Frederick's generals were almost his equals in ability. His brother, Prince Henry, and Marshal Ziethen, won a military fame second only to his own. Before the war the three great powers in Europe were France, Austria, and England. Thereafter two more had to be added—Russia and Prussia.

THE HYMN OF VICTORY AFTER LEUTHEN

Frederick had grown old and stern and lonely, but during the twenty-three years that remained of his life he was the acknowledged leader of Europe. Much of practical reform, much of relief to the oppressed people, spread through Germany, through the imitation of his successful government. He had established that form of rule which philosophers were calling "an enlightened despotism." The people had little or nothing to say in their own government, and Frederick was in truth a most exacting tyrant. But his tyranny was so wisely exercised for the people's good that they prospered greatly under "Old Fritz," as they affectionately called him.

A windmill interfered with the view from Sans-Souci; but the miller refused to sell the place, and relying upon "Old Fritz's" respect for the law, defied him to tear down his property. Frederick let the mill alone, and it stands to this day, carefully preserved now by the Prussian Government as a monument of their great king's sense of justice. The evils, indeed the utter impossibility, of such a thing as "enlightened despotism" became apparent only under Frederick's less capable imitators and successors.

Shortly after the close of the Seven Years' War Maria Theresa's husband, the Emperor Francis I. died, and was succeeded by his son, Joseph II. (1765–1790), a well-meaning, reckless, ambitious young man, who was an enthusiastic admirer of the great Frederick. Thus Austria, Russia, and Prussia grew more into harmony, although the Empress-Queen somewhat distrusted her son, and at first allowed him as little real authority as she had given to his father.

Joseph, however, persuaded his mother, much against her will, to unite with Russia and Prussia in what has always been regarded as a great national crime, the partition of Poland. Poland had long been in a state of anarchy and wild disorder. Its kingship was elective; and, as in the old days of the Empire, almost every election precipitated a civil war. So the three surrounding powers now agreed (1772) "in the interests of peace and good government," to help themselves to a large portion of Polish territory and to establish a protectorate, insuring order to the remainder.

In this division the shrewd Frederick seized fewer square miles of land than the other robbers, but his spoil was far more valuable than theirs. He took the Polish district reaching to the Baltic Sea. This province of West Prussia, as it was called, had long been coveted by the Hohenzollerns. It lay between their extensive possessions in the empire and their independent kingdom of East Prussia. It filled the dangerous gap in their land, and united their principal domains into one compact piece. Moreover, while most of the Poles were of Sclavic blood, the populace of West Prussia were largely German, and readily and gladly united themselves to the famous and well-governed kingdom of Frederick. The Russian and even the Austrian fragments of Poland

have, on the contrary, proved to their possessors a source of rebellion and disorder, of weakness instead of strength.

Encouraged by this first diplomatic success, the Emperor Joseph undertook a greater one. The old ruling house of Bavaria, the Wittelsbachs, who had held the duchy ever since Barbarossa's time, had become extinct. Joseph tried to attach the whole land to Austria, but Frederick opposed him, and by able diplomacy finally drew all the little states of Germany to unite with him against Austria, and guarantee the independence of Bavaria.

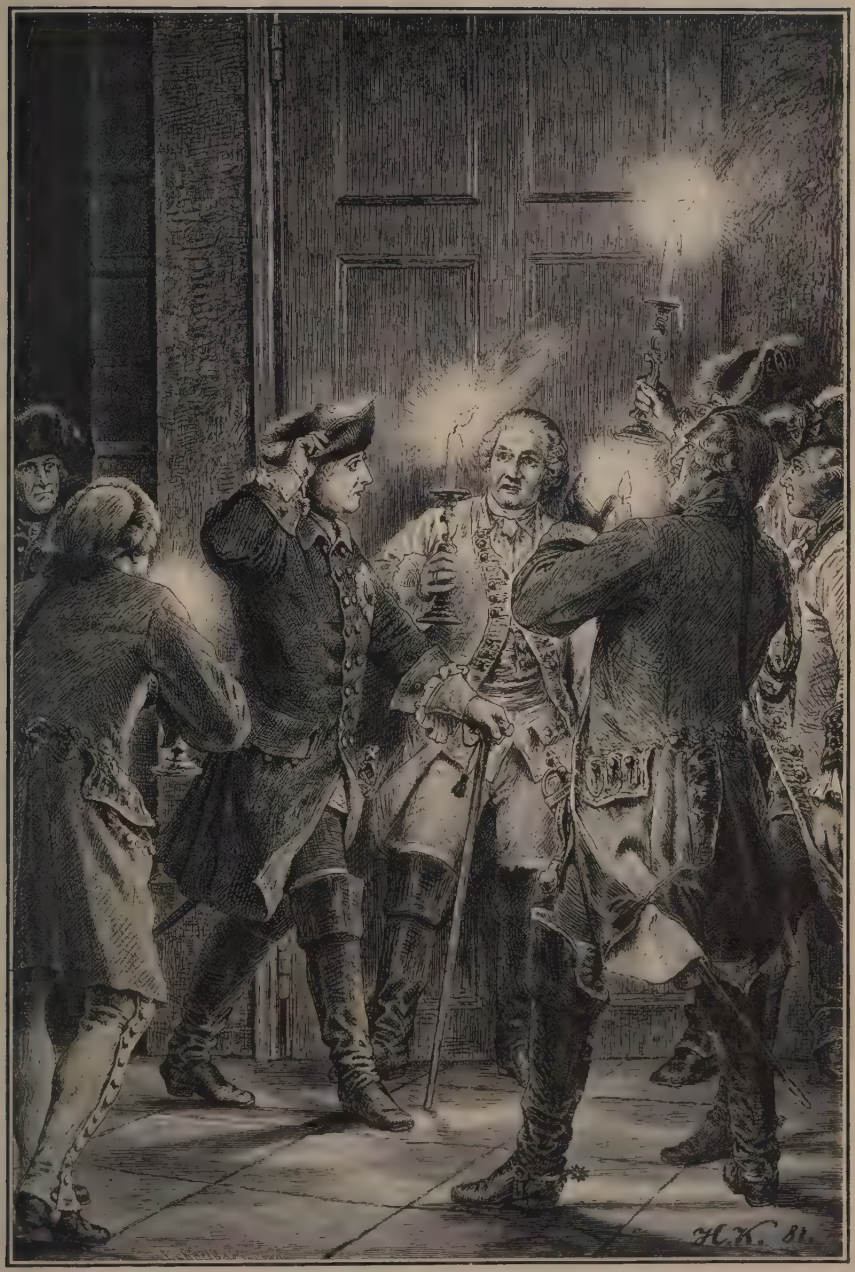
At one time it looked as if there would be another gigantic war. Prussian and Austrian troops faced each other upon the frontier. Both Frederick and Maria Theresa, however, knew the terrible meaning of war between them. The Emperor was eager for the struggle, but his mother wrote to Frederick, "Let us not begin again, and tear each other's gray hairs." So while they kept their armies marching vaguely to and fro, the old folks negotiated a treaty over the young Emperor's head; and, angry as he was when he heard of it, a peace was arranged.

This contest was called in derision—or was it in joy?—the "Potato War," because the troops had nothing to do through it all but eat potatoes, a vegetable whose culture Frederick himself encouraged in Prussia, and which was rapidly becoming a favorite article of food.

Both the Empress and Frederick were growing old. They had, in their turn, to make way for new actors in new scenes. Maria Theresa died in 1780. In her prayer-book she had written that in all her home government of her people and her children, she saw little cause to blame herself; but that she had sinned in making war from pride and anger, and in showing too little charity with her tongue.

Frederick died in 1786. It is worth noting that in his last days he also confessed a fault. He had seemed inclined to atheism in youth; but as he grew old he saw more deeply into the momentous problems of life. "I would give up my most successful battle," he said, "to have my people as moral and as truly religious as when I came to the throne."

The league of the German states, which he had formed against Austria, fell to pieces at his death. But the mere fact that he had created it proves that his far-seeing eye had already looked into the future, and foreseen a time when Prussia was to supersede Austria as the leader of Germany.



FREDERICK AMONG THE AUSTRIANS AT LISSA

QUEEN LOUISE ON HER FLIGHT TO KOENIGSBERG

Chapter LXV

GERMANY UNDER NAPOLEON

THE drama to which the contest of Frederick and Maria Theresa gives place is a strange and tremendous one. We come now to the period of the French Revolution, in which Republicanism and afterward Napoleon overturned all the old ideas and tumbled Europe into chaos from end to end.

It is interesting to speculate over what might have been, had the great Austrian and Prussian monarchs lived but a few years longer to meet and match themselves against the furious outburst of France. Neither of them left a successor fitted to cope with the sudden danger. Frederick was followed in Prussia by his nephew, Frederick William II. (1786–1797), a feeble, favorite-ridden king. The Emperor, Joseph II., released from the restraining influence of his mother, gave his rash enthusiasms full play.

It was a time everywhere of new ideas. Voltaire, Rousseau, and other great French writers had long been proclaiming that the old ways of the world were wrong, that all men were equal, and all should have a share in governing their countries. Some of these philosophers went much further and would have recklessly discarded the old religions as well. Frederick the Great, despite his own despotism, had done much to help along these ideas. He admired French intellect as heartily as he despised French folly, and vigorously encouraged freedom of thought among his own people.

Germany was stirred to its depths; its noblest thinkers took up the new

ideas, stripping them of their extravagant French guise, and presenting them to the people in the more earnest form fitted to the German mind. A wonderful alteration of spirit ennobled and invigorated the German middle clases toward the latter end of the eighteenth century. Gotthold Lessing, the first of the important authors who headed this movement, was soon followed by Goethe, the most illustrious of all German writers, and by his friend and nearest rival, Schiller.

Goethe's first dramatic work, "Goetz von Berlichingen," had for its hero, Goetz, a leader of the "peasants' insurrection" in Luther's time. It is a passionate appeal for freedom and resistance to tyranny. His novel, "The Sorrows of Werther," written also at this time, expresses the growing culture and delicacy of sentiment which characterized the period. Indeed Goethe's whole life was a struggle toward whatever was highest and noblest. Even as he lay upon his deathbed, his last words, whether of prayer or of triumph, were the often quoted cry, "More light!" Schiller's first play, "The Robbers," is even more vehemently full of the aroused spirit of revolt. He followed this with works that made heroes of Wallenstein and William Tell.

Duke Charles Augustus, of the little principality of Weimar, near Saxony, was one of the earliest to recognize the genius of these men and the importance of their work. He invited them to his court, and made it famous for all time, as the centre of the great German literary revival. Philosophy, history, the drama, fiction, almost every field of human thought was advanced in a marked degree during this period of effort and enthusiasm.

Kings, blindly secure of their power except as against one another, busied themselves with their armies and their cannon. Even Frederick, the keenest of them, seems never to have realized that a new force, more potent than he, was growing up at his very feet. To the end of his life he sneered at German literature, and continued to write and converse in French.

The Emperor Joseph showed himself an enthusiast for reform. Everywhere throughout his domains he swept away, in whirlwind fashion, old laws, old privileges, old customs. Some of these had existed for many centuries, and the peasantry were attached to them. The new laws, which seemed to Joseph wise and good, his people did not appreciate, did not understand. They looked on them as merely a new form of tyranny which sought to rob them in more subtle ways. They rose everywhere in revolt, and poor Joseph, heartsick and weary, had to give them their chains back again.

He died, worn out and disgusted, protesting with his latest breath that he had been misjudged and misunderstood. "Write it on my tombstone," he said, "Here lies a prince whose purposes were of the highest, but whose misfortune it was to see his every plan result in failure." This picture of a

GOETHE'S DEATHBED—"MORE LIGHT"

headlong reformer upon the throne, thwarted at every turn by a slow and distrustful people, is worth remembering as one of the oddest in all our story.

Joseph was succeeded by his brother, Leopold II. (1790–1792), and he by his son, Francis II. (1792–1806), the last of the ancient emperors. There was discontent almost everywhere when Leopold ascended the throne, and he hastened to pacify his people by undoing, so far as he could, his brother's work.

Meanwhile, the new ideas had found their fullest expression in France. There the people had been even more oppressed than in Germany, and in 1789 they rose against their rulers and formed first a constitutional monarchy, then a republic. Leopold, Frederick William II., and the other German rulers were much perplexed as to how to treat this totally unexpected phenomenon. Perhaps at first they were not sorry to see the French king involved in difficulties and his power weakened. His wife, however, was an Austrian princess, Marie Antoinette, and when the revolutionists reached the point of imprisoning her with her husband and children, Germany awoke. The matter was becoming too serious. Kingly dignity everywhere was obviously at stake, if common people were to be allowed, unpunished, to heap such indignities upon crowned heads.

The nobles who had fled from France, found a refuge in the little states along the Rhine, and were assisted in plotting a counter revolution. The aroused French people began to look on Germany with distrust and hatred. Certain disputed lands along the Rhine were forcibly seized by the French Government. In the midst of an angry war of words, which followed between Austria and France, the Emperor Leopold died. His son, Francis II., promptly determined on a more vigorous policy. Supported by Prussia, he demanded that the ancient French monarchy should be re-established. On April 20, 1792, France declared war against the "conspirator kings."

The renowned army of Prussia promptly advanced toward the French frontier; but there was confusion and delay. The Austrians were slow in arriving. The Prussian general, after a few slight successes, began to issue threatening proclamations, which only infuriated the French. Incited by the "Prussian terror," they committed horrible atrocities, which otherwise might not have disgraced the record of humanity. All the suspected "aristocrats" in the Paris jails, twelve thousand in number, were massacred. So were the Swiss guards of the king. The French poured in swarms to the frontier to repel the invasion. It was such an uprising of a nation as kings had no experience of. Untrained, ill-armed, and ill-prepared, the raw recruits, fired by resistless patriotism, held back the Prussian advance at the battle of Valmy, and then decisively defeated the Austrians at Jemappes. All Belgium, and even Aix, the ancient capital of Charlemagne, fell into French hands.

The invasion had only made the French patriots more united and more bitter; they killed their king, and then the poor Austrian queen, Marie Antoinette. In the delirium of success they defied the world. Nearly all Europe united in a "coalition" against them. England by degrees overwhelmed the French navy; but on land the effective strength of the allies was only that of Austria and Prussia. These two were greatly hampered by the indifference of the lesser German states, many of which inclined at heart to be favorable to the French.

The war dragged on at weary length. Frederick William of Prussia abandoned it, in order to take part with Russia in a second partition of wretched Poland, 1793. A third and final dismemberment of the unhappy land followed in 1795. Russia having done most of the work, seized most of the territory; but Austria also claimed a share, and Prussia received the district of Posen which she still holds, and the central Warsaw region which is now Russian.

In 1796 the European war had dwindled practically to a struggle between Austria and France. The French general, Napoleon, invaded Italy, much of which was an Austrian province. It was here that Napoleon first displayed the wonderful military genius which afterward amazed the world. In a single campaign he conquered Italy, invaded Austria from the south, and encamping only a little way from Vienna, won from the frightened Emperor Francis the treaty of Campo Formio, 1797, by which France was given Belgium, part of Italy, and all the German territory west of the Rhine. This Rhine region was not Austrian at all, but belonged to lesser princes of the empire, which perhaps accounts for the readiness of Francis to surrender it. The people of the transferred districts were not consulted, republican France appropriating them as calmly as the most absolute monarch could have done.

Meanwhile in Prussia the weak king, Frederick William II., died in the fall of 1797, and was succeeded by his son, Frederick William III. (1797–1840). The new king continued the selfish policy of his father, refusing to bestir himself in aid of German interests, and leaving Austria to face France alone. The little states had naturally become less friendly toward the new republic, when some of them found they were being absorbed into it. France demanded even more than the treaty of Campo Formio had given; the little states drew closer to Austria for protection. The war flamed out again, the French envoys being treacherously murdered after leaving the conference. Russia joined Austria, Napoleon was absent in Egypt, and the French were driven out of Italy, losing almost all that they had gained.

Napoleon, returning from Egypt, seized entire control of French affairs, calling himself "First Consul," but becoming in reality as absolute a ruler as any monarch about him. He had already given the French a taste of military

QUEEN LOUISE AND BLUCHER

glory; and they now threw away all their dreams of liberty and republicanism, to follow him in his meteoric career.

He rapidly restored the fading fortunes of France. In 1800 he recovered Italy by completely overthrowing an Austrian army at Marengo. His general Moreau was equally successful in Bavaria, winning, in a blinding snowstorm, the bloody battle of Hohenlinden, which has been immortalized by the English poet:

> "Few, few shall part, where many meet,
> The snow shall be their winding sheet,
> And every turf beneath their feet
> Shall be a soldier's sepulchre."

By these battles Vienna lay once more helpless before Napoleon; and the Emperor, Francis II., hastened to beg for peace upon any terms.

The full details of the treaty that followed were not arranged until 1803. They altered the entire face of Germany, and mark a most important change in the story of the land. The French frontier was definitely extended to the Rhine. Some of the German princelings whose estates were thus swallowed, received as compensation new territories on the other side the Rhine. These were made vacant for them by confiscating all the lands of the church, the Pope having already been made a prisoner by Napoleon. The ancient electorates held by the bishops of Cologne and Treves were abolished, and even the remaining priestly electorate of the Archbishop of Mainz was transferred to Ratisbon. Many of the lesser states were obliterated; the larger ones, especially those in the south, which had been friendly to Napoleon, were increased in size. The free cities of the empire were reduced from more than fifty to six, leaving only the three seaports of the north, Lubeck, Bremen, and Hamburg, and the three commercial centres of the south, Frankfort, Nuremberg, and Augsburg. The whole number of states of the empire was lessened from nearly four hundred to about forty.

There can be no question that, in its results, this proved a beneficial change for Germany, tending toward that unity of government which she has at last achieved. But imagine the confusion of the moment, the heart-burnings, the intrigues, as each petty prince rushed to the French court to get whatever he could added to his estates, or to save some shadow of them from confiscation. It is not a pleasant period for Germans to recall.

There was an ancient prophecy that when the Empire had sunk into helpless decay a second conqueror would arise like Charlemagne from among the Franks and restore its greatness. This prophecy was much discussed in Paris during the year 1804. There could be no doubt as to the decay of the empire, and Napoleon, who had himself helped so much toward its destruction, began

now to show plainly his ambition to be regarded as its Frankish restorer. He repaired Charlemagne's old palace at Nymwegen, and wrote his name upon the wall below that of the ancient owner. He conferred upon himself an imperial crown as "Emperor of the French." The neighboring republics that he had created in Holland and Italy were turned into kingdoms as dependencies of the French empire. He assumed the ancient Lombard crown in Milan. Clearly the pretensions of Austria were much in Napoleon's way, and, with perhaps a prevision of what was coming, Francis II. added to his title of German Emperor that of Emperor of Austria, thus making himself two emperors at the same time.

A new coalition was formed against the boundless ambition of the French conqueror. England, Russia, and Austria united in 1805 and tried hard to get Prussia to join them. But Frederick William III. persisted in his policy of neutrality. It is difficult to form a just estimate of the character of this king. He was loved by his people; and while he seemed to care nothing for the preservation of Germany, neither did any of the other princes within its border. He had gained some additions to his territory by his course of peace, and had saved his subjects from the sufferings of war; but it is hard to believe that a man, clear-sighted enough to have counted on these advantages, could have been blind to the inevitable final results of his policy, and failed to see that his kingdom, too, was certain to be seized by the French colossus. His course had already deprived Prussia of all her former prestige in Germany and in Europe. Nowhere was she either feared or liked. Frederick William was looked upon by other nations as a coward whom nothing could drive to fight. Russia actually resorted to threats to draw him into the new coalition of 1805. Against these at least he stood firm, and even marched his army to the Russian border to await an attack. He became thus almost an ally of Napoleon.

The great Frenchman had already seized the little state of Hanover, which, you will remember, was ruled by the English king. It was, however, wholly independent of the English Government and had declared itself neutral in the French war. Napoleon, calmly indifferent to any such distinction, invaded the state. The Hanoverian army received orders not to fire on his troops, and "only to use the bayonet in case of extreme necessity, and then with moderation." These discreet orders naturally reduced the war to a funny little opera-bouffe affair. The Hanoverian army was driven out with all its powder safe, and the land seized by Napoleon. To make sure of the neutrality of wavering Prussia the conqueror now offered most of this new acquisition to Frederick William, tossing it to him as one would toss a bone to a hungry dog.

Frederick William's position became increasingly difficult. To accept Hanover meant a quarrel with England, yet he could not bring himself to re-

QUEEN LOUISE AND NAPOLEON AT TILSIT

ject the tempting bait and thus antagonize France. Besides, the feeling of his own people was becoming too strong for him. They were eager for war, full of extravagant confidence in themselves, and fierce resentment at the increasing contempt with which Napoleon, and indeed all Europe, began to treat them. The young officers sharpened their swords upon the doorstep of the French ambassador. The soldiers made wild uproar in the theatres, shouting the patriotic choruses. The King's brother, and even the Queen herself, the fair and patriotic young "Queen Louise," the idol of the Prussian heart, openly encouraged the war party. The generals of the army, especially the gallant old Blucher, were her favorites at the court.

Had Austria waited, had Prussia hurried, there might have been a different story to tell. But the Austrians and Russians, being united, were still blindly confident in their own strength, and with England entered upon the war of 1805 against Napoleon. England swept his navy from the seas at Trafalgar. Never had his position seemed so dangerous. The South German states, however, joined him; and with some shadow of help from them he invaded Austria; seized Vienna, and defeated Austrians and Russians in the great battle of Austerlitz, December 2, 1805.

The "battle of the three Emperors," as it is called, was not necessarily decisive of the war; but Francis II., ever fearful and hesitant, appeared to accept it as such, and abandoning his allies signed once more a humiliating peace with Napoleon. Not only did he yield much territory, he agreed to acknowledge his rival's title as Emperor of France; and Napoleon's allies, the Electors of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, were each given the title of king.

These new kings, with the other little German states, were now completely under the control of France. In July, 1806, they formed a league among themselves called the "Confederation of the Rhine." The Confederation placed itself under the protection of Napoleon, and formally notified Francis II. of their withdrawal from the ancient empire, pointing out that it no longer defended them. On August 6 Francis accepted the inevitable, admitted that there was no longer a German empire, and resigned his title. The German, or to give it its correct name, the Holy Roman Empire, which Charlemagne had founded on that of the Cæsars, and which had weathered all storms for over a thousand years, ceased to exist.

Now became evident the motive of Francis in assuming the additional title of Emperor of Austria. This he still retained, and thus continued to be an Emperor, though only over his hereditary domains of Austria, Bohemia, Hungary, and their minor provinces.

This last aggression of Napoleon was too much for Frederick William. He also was interested in the empire which had been destroyed; perhaps he

had hoped some day to become its head. Not only was he ignored in the matter, but Napoleon even sought to make peace with England by taking Hanover back from him and restoring it to its former owner. England had declared war on Prussia for accepting the gift, and swept Prussian commerce from the seas. Presumably it was Napoleon's deliberate purpose to drive Frederick William to war, now that he had isolated him from all his neighbors. The plan was successful, the Prussian king who had resisted all appeals to join the great "coalitions" now singly declared war.

The Prussian army, clinging to the glorious memories of the days of Frederick the Great, still fondly believed itself invincible. It was really, however, only the empty shell of its former greatness. The spirit of the soldiers had been broken and brutalized by cruel discipline and floggings. All their accoutrements were antiquated. The paymasters were court favorites who systematically robbed and starved the troops, and destroyed their efficiency in every way. The younger officers were appointed from an empty-headed nobility, were wholly out of sympathy with their men, and unskilled in practical war. The generals had been promoted according to length of service; they were mainly leaders who had fought under Frederick forty years before, and had become decrepit, worn out, and useless. The general-in-chief, the Duke of Brunswick, once esteemed the greatest soldier in Europe, was over seventy years old, and verging on senility.

The French veterans of Napoleon found it mere child's play to overwhelm these "pipe-clay" soldiers. The two battles of Jena and Auerstadt were fought on the same day, October 17, 1806, and they completely crushed the Prussian army, turning it into a helpless mass of bewildered fugitives. The ancient Duke of Brunswick was mortally wounded. King Frederick William himself commanded at Auerstadt, bravely but not brilliantly. He was forced to join in the general flight; and poor Queen Louise, her bright hopes shattered, was compelled to flee from Berlin in haste, carrying her two little sons with her, but not knowing whether her husband was alive or dead. He joined her at Custrin, whence they were obliged to continue their flight to distant Koenigsberg.

Napoleon captured Berlin without resistance; indeed the astounded citizens, fearing for their homes, cheered him so cringingly as to excite his open scorn. He removed the huge statue of victory from over the city gate where the Great Elector had erected it, and it was sent, along with the sword of Frederick the Great, to Paris.

The whole of Prussia was soon in Napoleon's possession. Never was disorganization more rapid, or submission more abject. Most of the fortresses, and the fragments of the scattered army surrendered to Napoleon without a blow.

THE EXECUTION OF SCHILL'S OFFICERS

Only here and there did the ancient Prussian valor reassert itself. General Blucher led a desperate cavalry charge at Auerstadt, then rallying his division into some sort of order, retreated with much vigorous fighting to Lubeck, defended the city heroically, and finally capitulated on honorable terms—"because I have no bread and no ammunition left."

Other detached cities and fortresses continued their resistance. When Courbiere, who commanded the fortress of Graudenz, was advised to surrender since there was no longer a king or army in Prussia, he made the well-known answer, "If there is no longer a king of Prussia, then I will be king in Graudenz."

The Russian Emperor, who had allied himself with Prussia, sent troops in 1807 into the still unconquered eastern district about Koenigsberg. In February, the Prussians and Russians met the French in a doubtful and bloody contest at Eylau. It was the first of Napoleon's battles that was not a victory. He recognized the power of these unyielding Russians, and talked of peace. But the Russian Emperor, embracing Frederick William with tears in his eyes, declared that neither of them should fall alone. In June another savage battle was fought at Friedland; Napoleon was victorious, and the Russian Czar changed his mind. He met Napoleon on a raft moored in the middle of the River Niemen, the boundary of Russia, and was completely won by the dazzling visions unfolded to him by the French magician. They were to divide the world between them as Emperors of the East and of the West.

Frederick William's cause was wholly abandoned. By the Treaty of Tilsit half his kingdom was taken away from him, and even the remainder was allowed him only, as Napoleon was careful to state in the treaty, "out of consideration for his ally, the ruler of all the Russias." An enormous fine was also exacted from the ruined land, and all its fortresses remained for a time in French hands.

Queen Louise herself sought an interview with Napoleon at Tilsit and begged him to be more merciful to Prussia; but he was contemptuously firm. When he offered her a rose, she pleaded that the city of Magdeburg should go with it. The conqueror responded that she must take whatever he chose to give. Afterward he boasted that he had been as impervious to her tears as oiled cloth to rain. It was Napoleon's treatment of their beloved queen that most deeply roused Prussian resentment against him. She died three years later, too soon to witness the triumphant uprising of her countrymen, which avenged her.

For the moment Napoleon stood at the zenith of his power. Saxony, though it had opposed him in the war, was increased at Prussia's expense, and its duke added to the list of little German kings whom the conqueror created.

Many of the Rhine states were Napoleon's enthusiastic supporters. He gave them an importance they had long lost. The ancient fame of their fighting men revived. German as well as French regiments marched under Napoleon's banners, and led some of his most desperate assaults. In his Spanish wars it is said that two-thirds of his soldiers were of German birth. Austria and Prussia, and the lesser grumblers at this new empire, seemed helpless under his feet. The great Frankish conqueror had become a Charlemagne indeed, and dictated to *his* Pope and *his* Europe more positively than ever the ancient Charlemagne had done.

General Blucher

HOFER ROUSING THE TYROLESE

KING FREDERICK WILLIAM'S WELCOME TO BRESLAU

Chapter LXVI

THE UPRISING OF THE PEOPLE—GENERAL BLUCHER

FOR the causes which led all Germany to hate Napoleon, and which brought about the final revolt against him, we must look to the man himself. It is evident that many of the German people and even whole states were inclined to hail him as a deliverer. The laws that he gave them were superior to any that most of them had known. Under his guidance it seemed that East Franks and West Franks might once more unite into a mighty and prosperous nation.

Here surely was a problem difficult enough, a triumph stupendous enough to enlist the highest genius. Had Napoleon but recognized the limit of human possibility! Had he known where even *he* must stop! But he believed himself unconquerable. He attempted to hurl his two half-amalgamated races against other nations wholly alien, and united in opposing him. In his war with Spain his losses grew enormous; he kept calling on Germany for more money and new recruits. The drain became exhaustive, the taxation unendurable. Worse than this, the French officers who enforced his demands persisted in treating the Germans as a conquered and inferior race. French arrogance, even more than French exactions, roused the slow German temper to lasting rage.

The Prussians, with their inherited loyalty to the Hohenzollerns, and their chivalric devotion to Queen Louise, needed no such spur to rouse them. Frederick William III., far greater in misfortune than in prosperity, entrusted his affairs to an able and patriotic minister, Baron Stein.

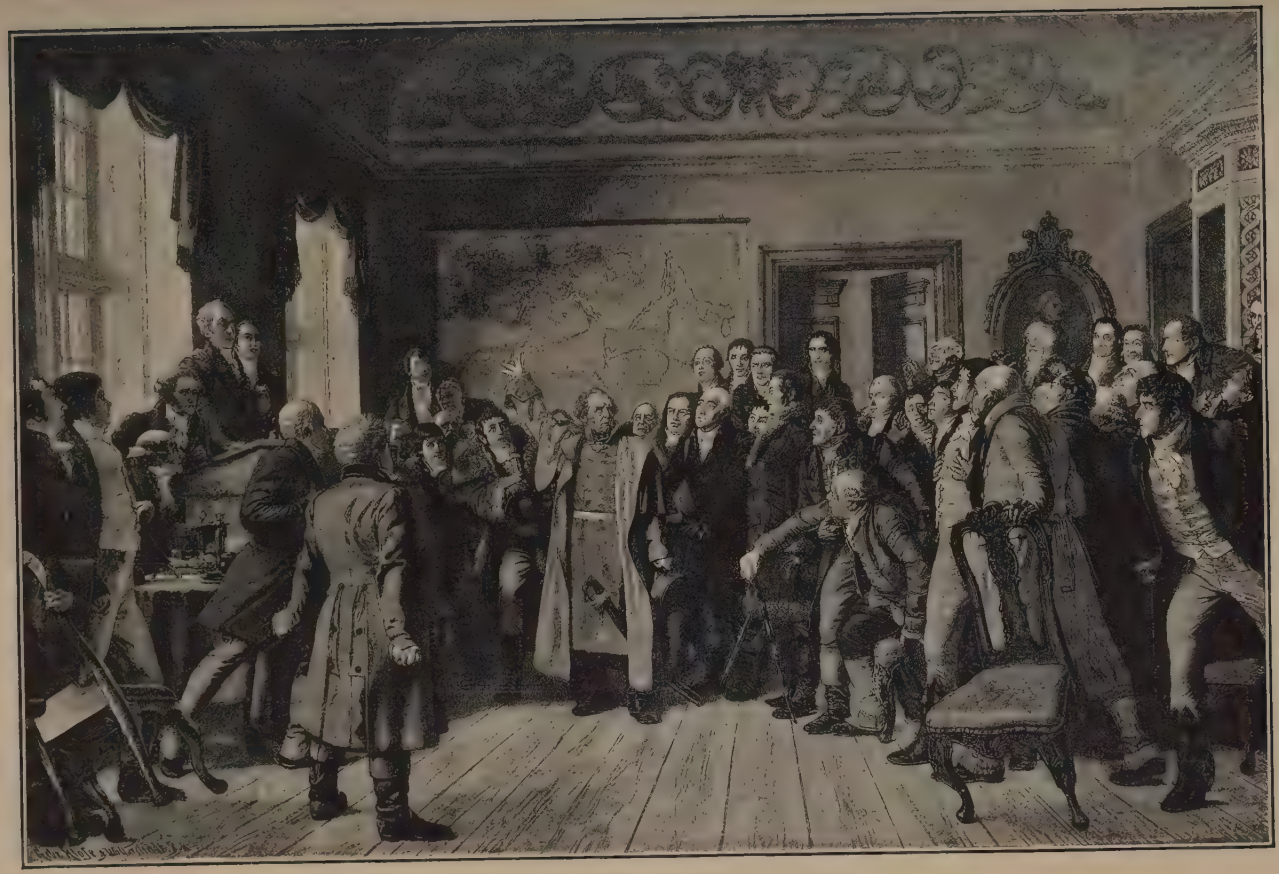
Stein revolutionized Prussia. All the old courtly incapables were hustled out of the dangerous offices, which they were now quite willing to resign. The people were summoned to join in the government. It was thus that Prussia's darkest shadow proved her greatest blessing. Serfdom was abolished; the old "enlightened despotism," the tyranny of the aristocracy, was swept away; the whole populace was made self-governing and self-respecting. The finances were repaired; the friendship of Austria sought; a secret league was founded, called the *Tugendbund*, whose ostensible object was the cultivation of virtue; but virtue, the league whispered, was impossible while French tyranny compelled hypocrisy.

Napoleon, far off in Spain, noted something of the changed spirit of the Prussians and sent a proclamation beginning: "A person called Stein is seeking to create disturbances, and is hereby declared an enemy to France." The "person called Stein" was perforce dismissed from the highest office in Prussia and fled to Austria; but the work he had begun was continued.

Able men of all classes united in their devotion to Prussia. What Stein, a noble of the highest rank, did for the state, General Scharnhorst, the son of a peasant, did for the army. Every officer who had made himself conspicuous by disgraceful flight or surrender was expelled the service. Napoleon had decreed that the army should not exceed forty-two thousand men. But as fast as one set were trained, they were dismissed to their homes and others took their places. The people entered into the scheme with enthusiastic devotion. The whole nation became trained soldiers. Men from the surrendered districts, still Prussian at heart though no longer in name, stole quietly over the new border line to take their part in the school of arms.

The spirit with which the Prussians rallied from their disgraceful overthrow, and the rapidity with which the land changed for the better under its stern misfortune, form one of the most amazing spectacles in history. Stein was in office scarce one year, but that year of able leadership was all that was needed to launch the new movement and transform a horde of panic-stricken peasants into a nation of heroes. It is one of Prussia's proudest memories.

In Austria also, Francis II. appealed to the ancient loyalty of his people, and they, too, began drilling in secret. The Austrians, however, being as yet unconquered, were more open in their resentment than the Prussians, and Napoleon hastened from Spain to confront this new danger. War between Austria and France was declared in the spring of 1809. Prussia, with French troops still quartered everywhere throughout the country, and with all her fortresses in Napoleon's hands, was as yet in no position to join the war. Napoleon came alone to the meeting of the Rhine Confederation and summoned the little states to rise to arms. "It is you whom Austria threatens," he said.



GENERAL YORK SUMMONING PRUSSIA TO ARMS

"It is you alone who shall defeat her. None of my soldiers accompany me. You see what trust and honor I give you."

With German troops, the Bavarians most conspicuous among them, he defeated the Austrians in a series of hard-fought battles, the campaign being, as he himself declared, the ablest of his career. He then captured Vienna, was defeated in a desperate two-days' struggle at Aspern, but recovered his ascendancy in the final terrific contest at Wagram (July 6, 1809).

Austria, overcome once more, yielded everything to the conqueror. Her efforts to rouse her people were abandoned. The suave and able minister Metternich was placed in charge of her affairs, under the domination of French influence. Much territory was of course surrendered, and, greatest humiliation of all, the Hapsburgs, proudest and most ancient of the royal houses of Europe, consented to ally their blood with that of the upstart usurper. Napoleon divorced his faithful wife Josephine, and wedded Maria Louisa, daughter of the Austrian Emperor.

Judging merely from the actions of kings and queens we should be tempted to say that Napoleon's power had now risen higher, and was founded more firmly than ever before. Looking, however, to the people, we see unmistakable signs of that power's decay. Little reckless explosions of revolt leaped up at the conqueror, uncontrollable flashes from the great fire of resentment that glowed everywhere beneath the surface. During the Austrian war a Prussian colonel, Schill, suddenly summoned his regiment of cavalry around him and rode out from Berlin to help the Austrians. He never reached his destination. The armies of Holland and Westphalia checked his little band, forced him slowly northward, and he fell fighting gloriously. The survivors among his young officers were shot as traitors, and the common soldiers sent in chains to Napoleon's galleys at Toulon.

The son of the dead Duke of Brunswick, deprived of his father's duchy, raised a band of two thousand cavalrymen, dressed all in black. They were called the "Black Brunswickers," wore a pictured skull upon each helmet, and were sworn to fight Napoleon wherever they could find war against him. The Brunswickers helped Austria in her struggle, but refused to be included in the peace. Led by their gallant duke they broke through Napoleon's army and galloped rapidly across Germany, repeatedly defeating forces far more numerous than their own. When at last overwhelming armies gathered round them, they withdrew to England to await the next revolt.

The peasants of the Tyrol, always noted for their loyalty to Austria, refused to allow the sovereignty over their land to be transferred to Bavaria. They rose as one man, and under the leadership of two of their number, Andreas Hofer and Joseph Spechbacher, heroically defeated whole armies of

French and Bavarians. They were crushed at last by overwhelming numbers. Spechbacher escaped, but Hofer was captured and shot as a traitor.

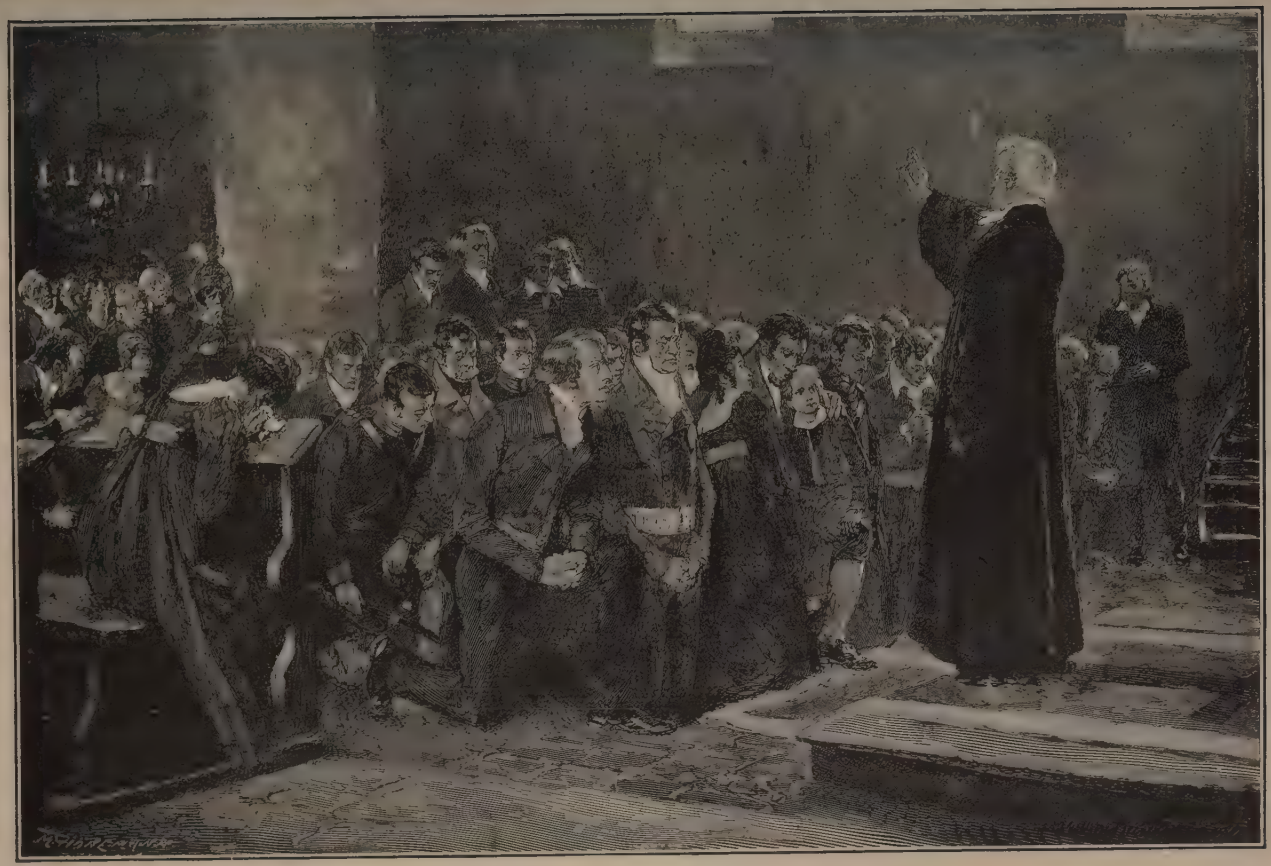
In 1812 came the beginning of the end. The Czar at last objected to the dictation of the "Emperor of the West," and Napoleon gathered his armies for his disastrous Russian campaign. He held what proved his last, brilliant court, at Dresden, where all the pigmy kings whom he had created, or permitted to remain upon their diminished thrones, assembled to do him homage. Even the humbled Emperor of Austria was there, and was treated with insolent contempt; while poor Frederick William of Prussia was lectured like a school-boy.

At Friedland, the site of his former victory over the Russians, Napoleon held a grand review of his six hundred thousand troops. Scarce a third of them were really French, every dependent state having been summoned to send its quota of recruits. In Prussia the patriots had almost persuaded Frederick William to refuse to obey the arbitrary order, and throw himself once more into alliance with the uncertain Czar. There was even whispered talk among Prussian statesmen, of temporarily deposing their King. He had his way, however, in the end. Scharnhorst, Blucher, and some three hundred leading officers resigned, but twenty thousand Prussian troops joined Napoleon's review at Friedland. The other nations cheered the conqueror long and loud as he passed them; but the Prussians remained proudly silent, and Napoleon marked with surprise the change in them. Could this be the people which had so flattered him with shouting at Berlin!

Of that stupendous host of invasion hardly one in ten returned. It was destroyed by the Russian winter. The exhausted survivors who, late in December, escaped back into Germany, dispersed and disappeared. Napoleon himself fled to France in quest of a new army, speeding across Germany disguised and unsuspected.

The Prussians in the great army really fared best of all. Their shrewd commander, General York, had them detached from the main army; and, when disaster came, he abandoned the French cause, made a separate treaty of peace with the Russians, and withdrew his troops unharmed to Koenigsberg. He was the first to see that Prussia's chance had come. He had been upon the spot and knew the magnitude of the disaster that had befallen the oppressor. From Koenigsberg he sent word to Frederick William explaining what he had done, and adding, "Now or never is the moment to embrace freedom and greatness. On your majesty's decision hangs the fate of the world."

Fortunately it did not hang on Frederick's decision, for he hesitated, disowned York's action, and declared him superseded. The kings of Germany had been bitterly taught that Napoleon was their master; even his Russian



1813 PRUSSIAN RECRUITS LEAVING FOR THE WAR

disaster was not the work of arms, but of the elements; and the timid monarchs expected him to return from France still unconquerable.

Stronger men than Frederick, however, summoned Prussia to arms in spite of him. That "person called Stein" had been one of Napoleon's ablest enemies in Austria and afterward in Russia. He was among the Czar's chief counsellors, and guided the effective plans by which the French army had been destroyed. He now joined York in Koenigsberg and began vigorous preparations for war.

The East Prussian assembly was summoned together, and York urged that every man capable of bearing arms should be at once enlisted in the ranks. The assembly cheered him to the echo. "Keep your applause," said York, "until I earn it in battle against the French." Recruits flocked eagerly to join his army. As the French survivors fled across Prussia, they heard, directed against them, on every side, the passionate, patriotic songs of a vengeful people.

It was but too evident what Napoleon would think of all this; and the unhappy king was left no choice but to join his people or to fight them. On February 3, 1813, he issued the famous call to arms. It was signed only by his minister, not by himself, and simply declared that the country was in danger, without naming the enemy. But the people interpreted it as their hearts prompted, and rushed by thousands to their country's standard.

It was an uprising like that with which the French themselves had begun their revolution, twenty years before. Never in history has so large an army been raised from so small a nation. The marts of trade were deserted; universities closed their empty class-rooms; women and children remained alone in their villages. Priests blessed the gathering recruits; those who could not fight brought what little wealth the French had left them to support the troops. Nay, it was not only boys and aged grandsires who swelled the ranks; uncounted numbers of women disguised as men fought beside their brethren through all the bloody battles that followed. The kings of Europe looked on in amaze, not knowing whether to welcome or to fear this terrific outburst.

Russian troops slowly followed the retreating French, and once more the Czar and Frederick William embraced with tears and promised to stand by each other to the end. The despairing Prussian king saw a glimmer of hope ahead. There was a new and inspiring ring to his proclamation of March 17, addressed "To my people," and signed this time with his own name. Among its words were: "You know what you have suffered for these seven years. You know what your sad doom will be if this war do not end in success. Remember the past: remember the Great Elector and the Great Frederick! Even small nations have fought with great powers in such a cause as this. Remember the

heroic Swiss and the Netherlanders. This is the last and decisive struggle which we undergo for our existence, our independence, our prosperity. There is no escape for us but an honorable peace or a glorious death."

General Gebhard von Blucher was appointed to command all the Prussian forces. He was a veteran of the great Frederick's wars, seventy years old, but still at his best. His fame had been first won as a cavalry leader in France in 1792. "The Red King" the Frenchmen called him. His masterly resistance after Auerstadt had stamped him as a leader, and Scharnhorst placed him at the head of the reorganized army of 1807 in command of Pomerania. There Blucher submitted in grim silence to the insolence of the French soldiers who garrisoned the country; but his repressed fury sometimes broke all bounds and he quite lost his reason. At such moments he would charge against the flies upon his wall, slashing madly at them with his sabre and shouting "Napoleon! Napoleon!" This was the man who now led the aroused Prussian people.

Napoleon met the crisis with his usual energy. From exhausted France he raised an enormous new army. The Rhine Confederation stood by him, and its remaining soldiers were added to his ranks. He hastily invaded Prussia with an army that gradually swelled to three hundred and fifty thousand men. The first important battle was fought at Lutzen. Napoleon with one hundred thousand troops was attacked by seventy thousand Russians and Prussians. The brunt of the fight fell upon the raw Prussian levies, who were hardly supported at all by their allies. They fought heroically, however, and maintained their ground all day. The French loss was greater than theirs; but the Prussian general, the great organizer Scharnhorst, was badly wounded, and Frederick William was persuaded by the Russian Czar to retreat during the night.

Lutzen, the first battle of the war, was thus a defeat for Russians and Prussians. So was a second similar struggle at Bautzen. The advantage to Napoleon was immense. His wavering subject kings, reconvinced of his indestructible power, joined him in the field. Yet how different were these defeats from those of Jena and Auerstadt! The new Prussians were no half-hearted conscripts, flogged through their drill. Each soldier here was fighting of his own free will; each one was a hero. They seemed to have changed characters with the French. The Prussians were now the enthusiasts! Though inferior in numbers, in arms, and in discipline, they withdrew from their battles, not in disorganized flight as at Jena, but slowly and unwillingly, eager to fight again, and each time inflicting a loss upon the hated French which was double that of the allies.

Napoleon saw the difference. He proposed an armistice; against the protests of the furious Prussian soldiers and generals it was granted. It proved, however, an advantage to the allies. England joined them; so did Sweden;

THE BATTLE OF THE KATZBACH

and at last Austria too demanded of Napoleon, that he withdraw his troops from Germany. The sovereigns, thus united in alliance, were eager to make peace with Napoleon; but he refused to yield an inch of the territory he had seized, and so the war was renewed in the summer of 1813.

As before, the brunt of the war fell upon the Prussians. Bernadotte, the general of the Swedish army, was placed in command of all the troops to the northward. He had been a marshal of Napoleon, and was slow to attack his old commander. Napoleon was determined to capture Berlin, and sent an army of eighty thousand men against it. Bernadotte, retreating as the French advanced, would have yielded the city; but the Prussian general Bulow, after fierce remonstrance with Bernadotte, deliberately defied him, and with his own division attacked the French at Gross-beeren, ten miles from Berlin (August 22, 1813). The Prussian infantry finding their guns too wet with rain to fire used them as clubs, and charged their foes with such fury that, unaided, they drove the French to flight.

Three days later a second French force, coming to join their comrades, were assailed by the maddened Prussians in the same manner at Hagelberg with bayonets and clubbed muskets, and almost annihilated. The allied sovereigns gave all the credit for these victories to Bernadotte, and conferred upon him the highest dignities and orders of merit.

Napoleon sent a third army, seventy thousand strong, and commanded by his bravest marshal, Ney, against these "poor militia." On September 6, a portion of the Prussians were attacked at Dennewitz. Again Bernadotte held back until one Prussian corps after another, in flat defiance of his orders, marched to the help of their comrades. General Bulow commanded on the field and, with an increasing force of Prussians that at last reached their full strength of fifty thousand, completely defeated Ney's entire army.

At the same time Blucher, with eighty thousand men, was conducting a masterly campaign against Napoleon himself in Silesia. Napoleon tried to draw Blucher into a battle against overwhelming numbers, but the old veteran shrewdly avoided a contest, and held the great conqueror in check, while the main army of the allies gathered in the rear of the French. Napoleon was compelled to abandon his attempts against Blucher, and turn his attention to the larger force. He left an army about equal in number to Blucher's to watch him.

The fierce old Prussian promptly attacked this force, August 26, as it was crossing the river Neisse, near Wahlstadt. Some of his Russian troops held back from the assault, but the remainder of them, and his thirty thousand Prussians under York, rushed eagerly forward. The battle was fought in a heavy rain-storm, and here, as before, the inferior Prussian muskets were turned into clubs by the desperate soldiers. Breaking limbs and smashing skulls,

they hurled back the French by sneer bodily strength into the swollen Neisse. The commander could only report to Napoleon, "Sire, my army no longer exists." From a little stream near by, this contest is generally called "the battle of the Katzbach." Blucher was created Prince of Wahlstadt, but he won a prouder title from his soldiers. They began to call the old general "Marshal Forwards," from the cry of command that was ever ringing from his lips. "Marshal Forwards" is the Prussian name for him to-day.

Gross-beeren, Hagelberg, Dennewitz, and Katzbach taught all the world what power was in these terribly roused Prussians. They turned the tide of victory against Napoleon. He himself, however, was as yet undefeated. With his main army he confronted the allied Austrians, Russians, and Prussians at Dresden, and repulsed with great slaughter the attack of the Austrian commander-in-chief, Schwarzenberg, August 26 and 27. Except for the Prussian victories all around them, the timid allies would probably have once more given up the contest.

The Prussians regard their great general Blucher as the real conqueror of Napoleon. Having swept away the army opposed to him in Silesia, he moved to the northward around the invader's armies, threatening to get between him and France, and destroy his line of supplies. Bulow, also, dragged the unwilling Bernadotte southward from Berlin, till their forces joined Blucher's. Napoleon's whole army was in danger of destruction. The allies closed round him from all sides and defeated him in the tremendous battle of Leipsic.

There were three days of the fiercest fighting, though the battle really extended over six days (October 14–19), the allies assailing Napoleon at every point, and his mighty army slowly crumbling under their blows. He had two hundred thousand men engaged; they over three hundred thousand. One-fifth of this vast multitude fell upon the field. The French fought with a valor worthy of their great nation. The allies were equally determined, Austrians and Russians vying with the now famous Prussians in the vigor of their attacks.

The battle was at last won October 18. The 19th was Napoleon's day of flight. York's Prussian cavalry entered Leipsic only two hours after Napoleon left it. Immense numbers of the French were captured. With perhaps half his army remaining, Napoleon fled toward France.

Every nation of Europe took some part in this colossal struggle, whence it is called the "Battle of the Nations." Perhaps a better translation of the German name would be "Battle of the Peoples"; for it was as their own battle that the great mass of the Germans in all the states regarded this famous fight. They felt that it was not the wavering kings, but the *peoples* who in their roused wrath had overthrown the great Napoleon.

TRIUMPHANT RESTORATION OF THE STATUE OF VICTORY IN BERLIN, 1814

Germany was free. Some of Napoleon's German troops deserted him even on the field at Leipsic. As he fled, the little German states rose in arms behind him. Blucher and the Prussians followed him relentlessly; they meant to enter France upon his heels; but a decree of their King recalled them. Frederick William seems to have felt that his people and his terrible "Marshal Forwards" were quite running away with him.

Once more the allies sought peace with France. Indeed, it is remarkable how tender they all were toward Napoleon at this particular period. He seemed to them less dangerous than the strange, new wrath of their people, which was spreading from Prussia through all Germany, and sweeping kings on to victories they scarcely understood. They wanted peace at any price, and offered to let Napoleon keep all France and the German lands west of the Rhine. Blinded by his pride, he refused the terms, and from naked France scraped up another hundred thousand men to retrieve his fortunes.

So the war perforce continued, and Blucher and his Prussians were let loose against their enemy. At midnight, December 31, just as the old year was passing and 1814 coming in, they crossed the Rhine into France. Never was Napoleon's strategy more brilliant than during this French campaign; but though Blucher, hampered by ignorant orders from home, was beaten in some minor battles, the old veteran refused either to be frightened or bewildered. To him and his men a beating meant only a renewal of the attack. They pressed Napoleon back upon his capital. Austrians, Bavarians, and Russians came slowly to their aid. France was exhausted. Paris was captured, March 31, and Napoleon banished to Elba.

As the victorious Prussians returned to Berlin, their entire journey was a passage through lanes of a freed and happy people cheering them to the echo. The sword of Frederick the Great was not regained; it had been hidden or destroyed. But the great statue of Victory which Napoleon had taken from the Brandenburg gate of Berlin, was brought back and restored in triumph to where it still stands over the ancient entrance to the city.

Nothing can be clearer than that it was the *people* in Spain, in Prussia, and throughout Germany, who had overthrown Napoleon. Yet the kings now took to themselves all credit and appropriated all the benefits. They assembled a great "congress" of their leading diplomats at Vienna and proceeded to rearrange Europe as they pleased.

They quarrelled rapaciously over their spoils. The Prussian statesmen claimed the whole of Saxony, because its king had clung to Napoleon to the last. The fact that its people had deserted their monarch almost in a body to help the Prussians, was not counted as a feather's weight against the king's personal attitude. Every other power advanced equally exorbitant demands.

General Blucher visited England and was received everywhere as the great hero he was, even the hairs of his horse's tail being preserved as souvenirs. Yet at the very moment of his visit, his country and England had come, at Vienna, almost to the point of open war.

Napoleon saw his opportunity. He escaped from Elba in March, 1815, eleven months after his deposition. The volatile Frenchmen flocked once more to his standard. The allies ceased their squabbling and hurried forward troops against him. Blucher with his Prussians, you may be sure, was the first to the front. The English quickly joined him under Wellington. These two, assisted by some Belgian and German troops, conducted the famous campaign of 1815, which ended Napoleon's career at Waterloo.

Napoleon moved quickly, to crush these two most dangerous foes before the less ready ones could gather. Part of his forces attacked the English at Quatre Bras, where the famous "Black Brunswickers" made their last charge against him, and left their heroic Duke dead upon the field. While thus holding the English in check, Napoleon with his main force defeated Blucher at Ligny (June 16, 1815). The old veteran was hurled from his falling horse and lay injured on the field, while the French cavalry swept by. His troops retreated in disorder; and Napoleon, thinking them completely defeated, left a smaller force under his marshal, Grouchy, to continue the pursuit, while he turned his full strength against Wellington at Waterloo.

So far he had been triumphantly successful. If only that terrible "Marshal Forwards," seventy-three years old, had been dead under his dead horse or had consented to stay beaten! But Blucher was on his feet again, laboring all night among his soldiers, who loved him like a father. Almost beside himself at this threatened ruin of his whole life's work, storming up and down like a madman, he checked the retreat, turned confusion into order, held Grouchy back, and sent word to Wellington that the Prussians were on the march to join him.

All day long through that heroic defence of the English squares at Waterloo (June 18), as Wellington watched his lines fast thinning under the murderous assaults of his desperate foe, he scanned the distant horizon with his telescope and murmured, "Night or Blucher!" And Blucher came! His men staggering and falling from fatigue, forced their way over almost impassable roads, and appeared late in the afternoon on the flank of the exhausted French. It was then that Wellington closed his telescope and said, "The battle is won. Let the whole line advance."

Napoleon could not believe that these were indeed the defeated Prussians. He insisted that the regiments were Grouchy's corps, returning from the pursuit. His troops, who had fought to the limit of human endurance, broke

BLUCHER'S FALL AT LIGNY

under the combined assault of English and Prussians and carried him off in their flight. The English, too exhausted to pursue, camped upon the battle-field. The Prussians, with grimmer wrongs to avenge, followed after the broken mass of fugitives. Napoleon barely escaped. His royal carriage with all the imperial trappings was captured but a minute after he had left it. His hat and sword and crown jewels were brought to "Marshal Forwards," who was unrestrained now by orders from home, and though suffering much from his injuries, continued his hurried advance. He entered Paris upon the fleeing conqueror's heels. Napoleon's empire of tyranny was ended.

It was at a great banquet of celebration given by Wellington at Paris that Blucher crowned his career with his bitter toast, "May the pens of the diplomats not again spoil all that the swords of our soldiers have so gallantly won."

Death of Colonel Schill

THE STUDENT CELEBRATION ON LUTHER'S CENTENARY

Chapter LXVII

THE STRUGGLE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT AND GERMAN UNITY

THE German common people, having overthrown Napoleon, hoped for great reforms. Once in ancient days they had been free, had held elections, met in assemblies. The entire power of the state had been theirs. Gradually all this was changed. The authority of the people sank to nothing; their rulers became "absolute" in government. Sometimes these despotisms were, like that of Frederick the Great, wise and "enlightened"; more often they were cruelly tyrannical and oppressive.

The Congress of Vienna, made possible by the victories of the people, had before it a magnificent opportunity to do away with all the old abuses and construct a new and progressive Europe. Unfortunately, no such generous idea was in the minds of the kings and their ministers. They were anxious only about their own powers and possessions. By far the cleverest schemers among the diplomats were Metternich the Austrian, and Talleyrand the Frenchman; and these two gradually fixed everything almost as they wished it. Their aim was to restore all the outworn ideas, which Napoleon had overturned, to lull the people into their ancient submission, and to go on in the same old ruts.

In defence of this repressive policy it must be admitted that the mad excesses of the French Revolution had shown, only too horribly, whither the unbridled rule of an ignorant populace might lead. So, instead of a new

BLUCHER RECEIVING NAPOLEON'S HAT AND SWORD

Europe, the diplomats patched and tinkered the old one together again. "We have been in a bad dream for seven years," said William, ruler of the little German state of Hesse. "Now we will wake where we went to sleep." He accordingly reduced all his court officials to the positions they had held before, and cut down their salaries to correspond. In his army, too, the officers who had risen to be captains and majors were set back into their former lieutenancies; he even introduced the old, stiff wigs and antiquated arms of former days, among his soldiers.

In the same spirit, the Congress of Vienna gave back France to the ancient French royal line, with the boundaries about as they had been in 1792, that is, as Louis XIV. and XV. had made them. This still kept Alsace and Lorraine away from Germany. Holland and Belgium were made into an independent kingdom of the Netherlands. The petty kings of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Saxony were allowed to retain the titles Napoleon had conferred on them; and Hanover was also made into a German kingdom, the English monarch becoming its king. Austria regained all her lost territories. Prussia, fortunately for herself, was deprived of her dominion over the Sclavic Poles of Warsaw, but was given in exchange a large part of poor Saxony, and also the German lands west of the Rhine, from which Napoleon had driven so many little rulers. These lesser princes and bishops were not restored to their forgotten thrones. Germany was made to consist of thirty-nine independent states, including Austria, Prussia, four other kingdoms, twenty-nine lesser principalities, and four free cities, Lubeck, Hamburg, Bremen, and Frankfort.

The people, with a larger patriotism than their kings, had demanded a united Germany, a restoration of the ancient German power; and to satisfy their clamor all the thirty-nine states were declared to be in one confederation, with Austria as its president. But the confederation, like that among the American colonies before 1789, had really no inherent strength or value. All the power remained with the individual states, and the union was little more than a name.

In addition to forming this league each German ruler pledged himself to establish some sort of constitution, giving a share of the government to his subjects. That was all the people got out of the Congress—vague promises, pledges, words which had no meaning. They were to be quieted—that was all. The kings wanted no more revolutions.

At first the Germans were content and awaited their promised constitutions. One ruler after another, however, found an excuse for continuing his old, absolute sway. The few constitutions granted were mainly drawn up by the kings themselves, and made intentionally worthless. The people grew suspicious and discontented, and vague murmurs of rebellion were heard. In Prussia and

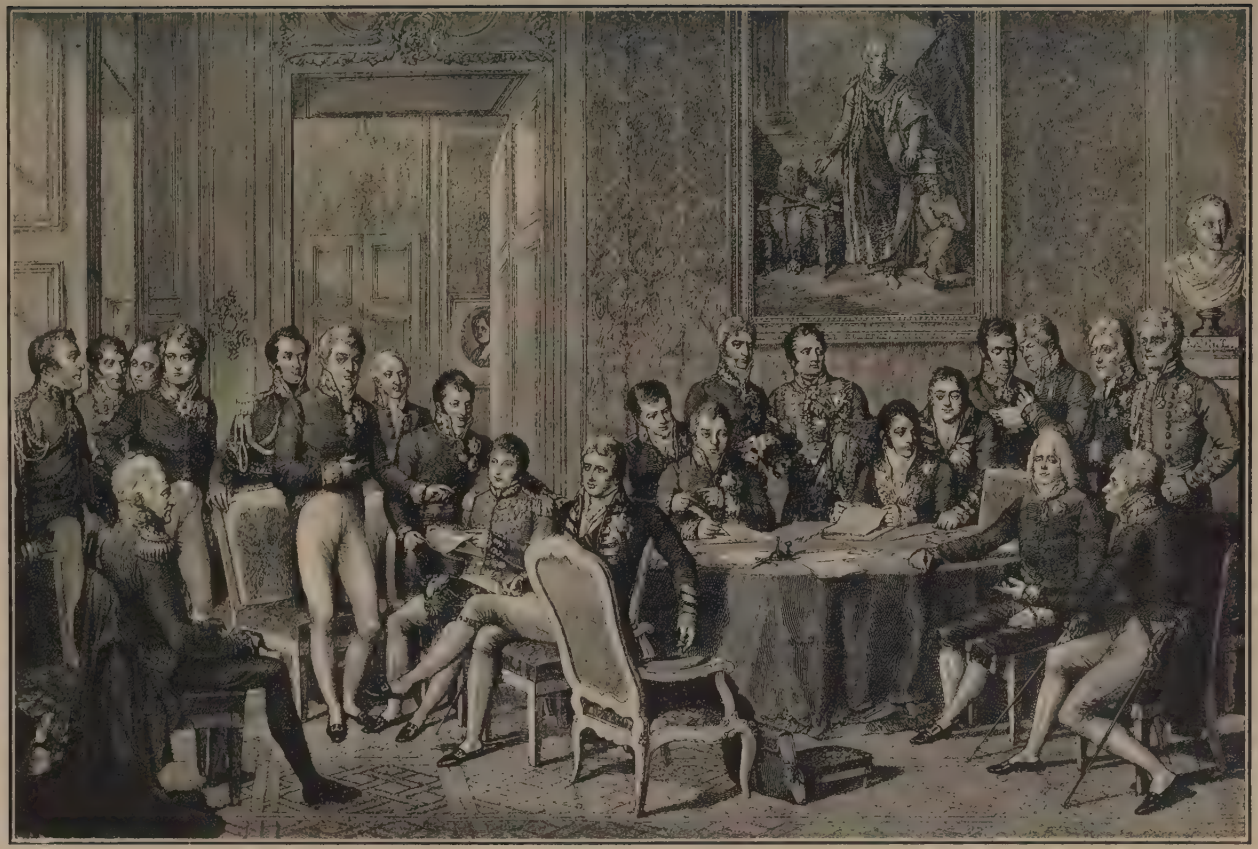
Saxony the university students began to form secret societies based upon revolutionary ideas. In 1817 they held an immense meeting to celebrate the centenary of the Reformation, and, imitating Luther, cast into the flames a number of books antagonistic to German freedom and unity.

At this celebration was displayed for the first time the black, red, and yellow tricolor, composed of the royal colors of the ancient empire. In the old days the black had stood for the Saxons, red for the Franks, and yellow for the South Germans. Now the flag was made a symbol of the demand for a united Germany. The progressive societies became more aggressive. In 1819 a Prussian student slew the dramatist Kotzebue, because he was a Russian spy. King Frederick William III., grown old and set in his ways, proclaimed harsh, restrictive laws. Many young men were imprisoned or banished. The persecution was imitated through all Germany.

In 1830 the French revolted successfully against "absolutism," and changed France into a constitutional monarchy. Naturally the bitter feeling of the repressed German people was intensified. Sparks of revolt against absolutism flashed out in many of the little states. The Duke of Brunswick had to flee for his life, and his palace was burned behind him. In Frankfort, where the feeble assemblage of the German Confederation was being held, an attack was made upon the parliament itself, and considerable blood was shed. Constitutions were granted right and left by terrified rulers.

The danger passed, however, and under Austrian influence the reactionary policy of the kings were resumed. In 1840, old Frederick William III. of Prussia died. He has been bitterly condemned by the extreme revolutionists; but the mass of his people, who had passed with him through the trying times of Napoleon, loved him and respected his worth. He was succeeded by his son, Frederick William IV. (1840–1861). For a time the people hoped much from the new King's liberal ideas, but at last he distinctly notified them that he would not let a "piece of paper" come between him and what he considered his divinely appointed duties.

The Hohenzollerns have always been among the most determined upholders of the "divine right" of kings; and it is fortunate for Germany that most of the family have been equally stanch in acceptance of their duties toward the people. The material progress of Prussia under the government of Frederick William III. and Frederick William IV. was remarkable. Indeed for all Germany the half-century following Napoleon's downfall was a period of great prosperity. There were no wars, except for a trifling one with Denmark. No foreign foe set foot anywhere upon German land; commerce increased enormously; the newly invented railways and steamboats were introduced; the exhausted country recuperated as if by magic; its wealth doubled and quadrupled.



THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

It was the year 1848 which finally saw Europe, especially Germany, transformed into a land of "constitutions," of governments more or less directly by the people. France was as usual the centre of the movement. She declared herself a republic. A tremendous popular outbreak followed in almost every state of Europe. In Austria the people took possession of Vienna. Metternich, the ancient repressor of liberty, had to flee to England for his life. The old Austrian Emperor, Francis II., had died in 1835. His son, Ferdinand, yielded to the demand of the revolutionists and summoned an elective parliament from all the varied Austrian possessions. Finally he resigned his office to his nephew Francis Joseph, the present Emperor. Vienna, being held by the revolutionists, was bombarded by government troops and captured by storm. The rebel leaders were shot; and after a few years the absolute government was restored.

In Berlin the revolution was even more violent. Troops and citizens fought for a whole day in the streets. The dead and dying were carried on planks before the windows of their King, and Frederick at once yielded everything his people had asked. "I place myself at the head of your revolt," he said. In a proclamation that followed he promised to try with the other princes to secure a more united Germany. It wound up, "From this day forward, Prussia becomes merged in Germany."

Earnest efforts were made to establish a reformed Prussian government, but the most radical of the revolutionists insisted on a republic, and it was nearly two years before all parties agreed on the constitution. The King swore to support it, and it has ever since remained the law of the land.

During the time that matters remained undecided at Berlin, the outbreaks in the lesser German states were repressed, mainly by Prussian troops. Austria was distracted by a great Hungarian rebellion, and Prussian influence was much increased throughout Germany. It seemed almost as if the second yearning of the people, a united empire, was about to be realized. A national assembly, truly representative of the people, gathered at Frankfort, and after much deliberation offered the presidency of the league to the King of Prussia, with the title "Emperor of the Germans." So little real power was, however, proffered with the honor that Frederick William declined it. "The Imperial crown of Germany," said he with prophetic insight, "can only be won upon the field of battle."

Now opened an intricate game of diplomacy between Austria and Prussia. It was clear that all parties desired a stronger union. Which of the two great powers should lead in this? Reactionary, Catholic Austria, or progressive, Protestant Prussia? Their ancient rivalry revived, as dangerous as ever it had been. One quarrel followed another. The lesser states were drawn into the

wrangle. Feeling was bitterly inflamed, and gradually it became apparent that only open war could settle the issue. The conflict was as irrepressible as the slavery contest in America.

The great statesman who maneuvred Prussia through the various stages of her brilliant triumph over Austria, was Otto von Bismarck. He had early seen whither all things were tending, and in 1862 made his celebrated speech in the Prussian parliament, declaring that the problem must be solved "not by speeches and majorities, but by blood and iron." Both friends and enemies seized upon the phrase, and he became everywhere known as the "man of blood and iron."

Meanwhile Frederick William IV. had died in 1861 and been succeeded by his younger brother William, the celebrated king who was to become Emperor William I. William was sixty-four years old when he ascended the throne. He had been with his mother, Queen Louise, at the tragic peace of Tilsit. He and his elder brother Frederick had made a childish vow to avenge their mother's wrongs, and he had marched with the army into Paris in 1814. All his life he had been a soldier, and under his brother was commander-in-chief of the Prussian armies. He was a true Hohenzollern in his belief in the divine origin of his power. In his speech before coronation he declared: "The monarchs of Prussia receive their crown from God. . . . It is inviolable. The duty of the parliament is to assist the King with its counsel. The members will advise me and I will give due attention to their words."

Immediately on his accession to the throne William, an enthusiast in military affairs, began to reconstruct and enlarge his forces. He made Bismarck his chief minister. The Prussian parliament refused to vote the heavy taxes needed for the new army, refused in fact to have the new army at all. Bismarck attempted to force their consent. He overrode the recently established constitution, and thus, as the foe of the new liberties, became the most generally hated man in Germany. The parliamentary struggle grew bitter, and Bismarck and the King, finding they could not have their way openly, began to carry out their plans in secret. Once more, though unsuspected, Prussia became a great military power.

The excuse for the inevitable Austro-Prussian war was found in a quarrel over the little duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. These belonged to the ancient empire, and were wrenched from the grasp of Denmark by Prussian and Austrian troops, fighting side by side under the authority of the German Confederation. It was understood that the little duchies were to be handed over to their legitimate prince, Frederick of Augustenberg. But Prussia, finding that Frederick was Austrian in his sympathies, objected, and claimed some authority in the duchies for herself.

Prussia was overbearing in the matter, and perhaps unjust. Austria was

THE CORONATION OF KING WILLIAM

diplomatically polite and suave, and soon had almost the entire Confederation on her side. Even the Prussian people themselves disapproved the actions of their government. Never was minister more bitterly assailed than Bismarck. An attempt was made to assassinate him in the streets of Berlin. The people had no desire for war, and it seemed absurd that Prussia, a state of less than twenty million population, should dare deliberately to array herself against the whole of Germany and the Austrian Empire, representing nearly three times that number.

The decisive moment came when, at Austria's urgence, the German Confederation agreed, June 14, 1866, to prepare its troops to resist Prussian aggression. The Prussian Government accepted this as an act of war, and declaring the Confederation dissolved, began marshalling an army against Austria. On June 15, Bismarck sent peremptory word to the three large North German states, Saxony, Hanover, and Hesse, that they must at once stop arming, and within twelve hours declare themselves neutral in the coming war, as Prussia, in attacking Austria, would not risk having enemies in her rear.

Hanover could no longer rely on England for support, the two having become estranged when Queen Victoria ascended the English throne in 1837. In Hanover the sovereignty passed, not to her, but to her uncle, who became the Hanoverian King. Hanover, however, and Saxony and Hesse also, counted confidently on Austrian assistance. Neither of them therefore made any answer to Bismarck's demand; instead, they hurried their preparations for war.

The next morning, June 16, Prussian armies invaded each defiant little state. There was not much fighting. Prussia had been too prompt, and her adversaries were too inferior in numbers and resources. The troops of Hesse and Saxony escaped southward to join Austria. One Hanoverian battle occurred at Langensalza, in which a small Prussian force was somewhat worsted. Two days later, however, the whole Hanoverian army was surrounded at Langensalza by overwhelming numbers, and forced to surrender (June 29). Hanover became a Prussian province. Their rear being thus secure, the Prussian troops advanced into South Germany, winning several minor battles from the scattered forces of the "Confederation."

Meanwhile, the main Prussian army was hurrying toward Bohemia to attack the Austrians. King William issued a proclamation from Berlin declaring that Prussia had endured too much of Austrian dictatorship, and meant now to establish German unity and harmony by forcibly driving her rival out of the confederation. Italy, having grievances of her own against Austrian tyranny, joined also in the war.

The most impressive thing about this Austro-Prussian contest, the "Seven

Weeks' War" as it is called, was the splendid readiness of the Prussian forces. The minister of war, Von Roon, and the chief of staff, Von Moltke, had foreseen everything. They knew the struggle was coming, and they had studied their adversaries' probable course, and mapped out their answering moves as though engaged in a game of chess. They had counted even on the Saxons blowing up a certain bridge to delay the Prussian advance; and when it really did go up, Prussian soldiers were carrying a bridge of their own, built to measurement in sections, and exactly replacing the one destroyed.

In the face of such preparedness, Austria, with her antiquated methods, was wellnigh as helpless as little Hanover had been. There was a new and improved weapon, too, the needle-gun, which the Prussians carried, and which was to have much to do with the result.

The two armies, each about two hundred and fifty thousand strong, soon confronted each other on the Austrian soil of Bohemia. Fighting all along the lines commenced June 27. The Austrians were everywhere pushed back until they concentrated around the village of Sadowa and the fortress of Koeniggratz. Here the main battle occurred July 3, 1866. After a long, brave struggle the poorly armed and badly organized Austrians were completely defeated and fled upon every side. The Prussian troops gathering round their King upon the field, raised once more their ancient hymn "Nun danket alle Gott."

The battle of Koeniggratz must rank as one of the most important events of the nineteenth century. After this decisive victory, King William advanced with his army to Vienna, almost unopposed, and in front of his rival's capital he dictated the terms of a peace, which excluded Austria forever from German affairs.

King William, his only son Frederick, General von Roon, and General von Moltke had each won glory by the war. But most honored of them all was the hitherto hated minister, Bismarck. Never was seen so complete a revulsion of popular sentiment. The "man of blood and iron" had been right, his adversaries wrong. The Prussian nation could not do enough for him. The parliament hastened to acknowledge its errors, and every unconstitutional act of which Bismarck had been guilty, was legalized and enthusiastically indorsed.

No less remarkable was Bismarck's diplomatic success in the treaties which followed the war. Prussia arranged a peace with the South German states, by which they secretly agreed to help her with their arms, if needed for the defence of Germany. They also formed a little South German confederation among themselves, excluding Austria. In the north, Prussia announced that she annexed Hanover, Hesse, and some other states. With Saxony and the little principalities that had stood by her in the war, she established the North

KING WILLIAM HEADING THE PURSUIT AT KOENIG-GRATZ

German Union, assuming all authority in military and commercial matters, while allowing her allies to retain their self-government in internal affairs. Thus, in the north at least, Prussia had succeeded in establishing the much desired and long baffled German unity. The intervening difficulties which had so perplexed previous generations, she solved by the simple process of swallowing the other states.

Prussian Charge at Langensalza

THE WURTEMBERGERS IN THE SUBURBS OF PARIS

Chapter LXVIII

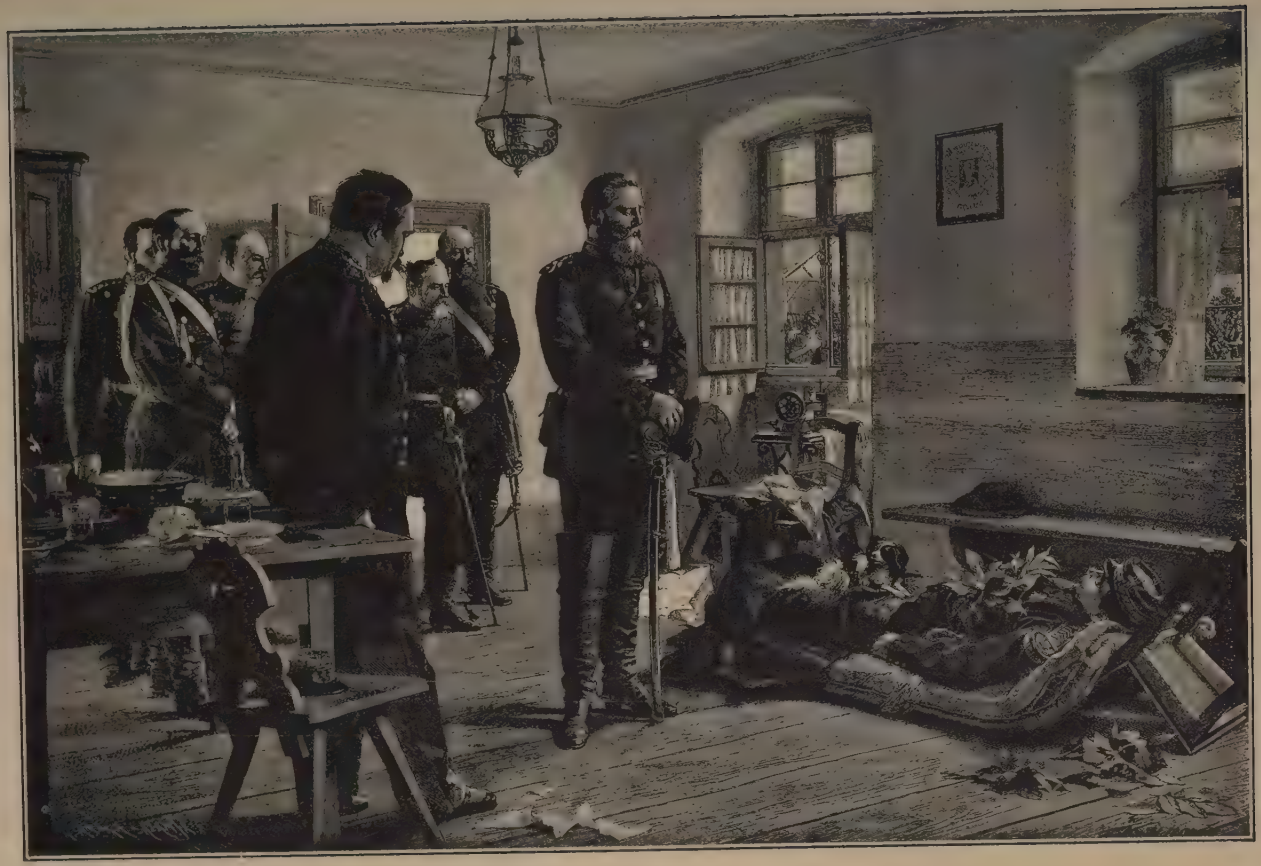
BISMARCK AND THE FRANCO-GERMAN WAR.

WE approach now the last impressive scene, the spectacular climax of this truly remarkable drama of Prussian achievement. To understand the feelings with which Prussia's growing importance was regarded by the rest of Europe, we must remember that she was a newcomer among the great powers. In history a century is but a little while, and it was scarce more than a century before, that Prussia had begun her ambitious rise under Frederick the Great.

France and Austria could not forget that for ages they had been the masters of Western Europe. They still insisted on being considered such; and now, Austria's pride having been humbled, France felt all the more her right to be so regarded. Her ruler had even the nickname of "the arbiter of Europe."

Russia, too, accustomed during Napoleon's time to look on little Prussia as a poor neighbor to be patronized, resented her sudden growth. The Russian Czar even meditated taking up the cause of the deposed German princes and forcing Prussia to surrender her spoils.

England was the one power that rejoiced in the increase of German strength. The English are part of the mighty German or Teutonic race, and "blood is thicker than water." Besides, in a united Germany, England might find a worthy ally against her great antagonist, Russia. So England overlooked the destruction of Hanover and upheld Prussia's course, thus perhaps



PRINCE FREDERICK VIEWING THE BODY OF GENERAL DOUAY

preventing another huge European coalition against the rising state. The friendship thus established between the two Teutonic powers has since suffered no serious check.

In France the feeling against Prussia grew daily more bitter. The nephew of the famous Napoleon had established himself as Emperor of France, under the name of Napoleon III. His eventful life had seen many vicissitudes, and he was now old and shrewd and experienced, and sensible that his throne rested on none too secure a foundation. He understood well the passion of his nation for glory, and he catered to it. Immediately after the Austro-Prussian war he demanded that France be allowed to take Belgium and some German territory as "compensation" for the increased strength of Prussia.

The Prussian Government, with half a million men still under arms, promptly refused; and Napoleon, utterly unready for war, was compelled to withdraw his demand. The French could not forget this. It hurt their pride; it hurt Napoleon's influence over them. Was his title of "arbiter of Europe" only an empty nickname, that he could be thus brushed aside? "Down with Prussian arrogance!" became the most popular political cry in France.

The four years from 1866 to 1870 are splendid monuments to Bismarck's fame as a statesman. Seeing clearly the necessity for a French war, and measuring all the good which it might be made to work for Germany, he warned Von Roon and Moltke to prepare their armies, he himself arranged alliances. Austria, bitter at first against Prussia, was conciliated, and gradually convinced that she was really better off as a separate empire, unentangled in the numerous petty German squabbles. The South German states were united in a commercial alliance with Prussia, and taught to regard her as a liberal, generous, and trustworthy friend, a true protector in time of need.

The people of North Germany were made loyal and enthusiastic in the support of the national cause. A national, or North German, flag was adopted, the tricolor which is now the emblem of the whole German empire, the Franconian red being added to the Prussian black and white. Prussia was indeed, as Frederick William IV. had once promised, "merged in Germany."

In the summer of 1870 came the unpleasant opportunity for which France had been waiting. The Spanish people invited a German prince to their empty throne. He was a distant relative of the Prussian royal family, and the French ministry at once declared that their country had suffered too much already from the union of Spain and Germany, in the time of Charles V., and they could not allow such a conjunction to be re-established. Furthermore, the French insisted they were insulted, because the matter had been discussed at all without their approval having been first asked. They demanded that the prince withdraw altogether from the competition for the Spanish throne.

King William of Prussia acted with great courtesy and moderation. He declared that he himself had not been asked to approve the prince's nomination; that he had no right to command the young man to withdraw, but that he certainly would counsel him to do so. Thus advised, the prince did withdraw at once.

So the French had their "glory," and the incident seemed closed. Perhaps it will never be quite clear just how the smouldering embers were again fanned into a blaze. We know now that the "man of blood and iron" had some part at least in it. He was all ready for war; and he knew what most of the French themselves did not know, that they were fatally unready. Besides, Frenchmen were ill-satisfied that "Prussian arrogance" had escaped so cheaply. Presently, therefore, Napoleon III. and his ministers made the astounding demand that Prussia should guarantee that no Hohenzollern should ever ascend the Spanish throne. The slow German temper began to rise under this persistent nagging; the demand was flatly refused.

The French ambassador was sent to see King William personally, with orders to "be rough with him," and to demand a written apology to France. The ambassador fulfilled his instructions so well that the kindly old king turned on his heel and left the Frenchman standing in the street. The spot in the town of Ems where the celebrated interview occurred is marked by a square flagstone, which is jestingly called "the corner-stone of the German empire."

The French had now what obviously many of them were seeking, a pretext sufficient in their minds to justify war. The "insult" to their ambassador was grossly exaggerated and misrepresented at Paris. The Paris mob went wild. The Ems interview had occurred July 13; on the 15th the French Government declared war.

It is equally clear now, that Bismarck also obtained what he wanted. He had forced the war of 1866 upon his countrymen, but so harshly and arbitrarily that his purpose was too evident, and all Germany, even the Prussians themselves, exclaimed against him. Taught by experience he handled the French struggle so dextrously that the blame seemed to lie wholly with France. The venerable King William became the centre of universal sympathy.

Germans everywhere felt that their land had been hounded into war by French ambition and vanity. The kings of the South German Confederation sent prompt word to King William that their forces were ready to march at his command. The cause was regarded not as a Prussian, but as a national one. France seemed determined to launch once more upon such a career of conquest as when, under the first Napoleon, she astounded Europe.

The people of Germany rose as one man. Troops long held in readiness by Von Moltke were hurried by hundreds of thousands to the Rhine, chanting

THE SOUTH GERMAN TROOPS CHEERING PRINCE FREDERICK AT WORTH

patriotic songs along the way. Napoleon III. had meant to be first in the field, to invade Prussia and to draw the South Germans to his side. Instead of that, a great army, representing united Germany and outnumbering the French two to one, was pouring into France before Napoleon's forces were half ready.

France was beaten at the start. Her surprised soldiers made heroic resistance, but they were assailed with a courage that matched their own, and were overwhelmed, even as the Austrians had been, by the superior readiness of Prussia and the consummate military science of Von Moltke.

In its details this whirlwind war may be divided into three stages: First, the brave effort of the French armies to repel the invaders, which ended with the battles of Worth and Gravelotte; second, the desperate struggle of the French generals to save their defeated armies, which surrendered at Sedan and at Metz; and third, the writhing of the conquered nation, helpless in the enemy's relentless grip.

The Germans advanced from the Palatinate southward and westward into Alsace and Lorraine, the ancient land of Lotharingia, which Louis XIV. had wrested from Germany. The invading troops were divided into two armies; that which first engaged in battle was forcing its way south toward Strasburg. It numbered perhaps a hundred and fifty thousand men, mainly South Germans, and was under the command of King William's only son, Prince Frederick, he who afterward became Emperor for those few pathetic months in 1888. Opposed to Frederick was a French army of between fifty and one hundred thousand under Marshal MacMahon.

The French advance guard under General Douay was defeated in a first battle at Weissenburg (August 4, 1870), Douay himself being among the earliest of the French heroes to fall. His body was abandoned by his retreating troops to the care of the pitying and chivalrous Frederick; and MacMahon gathered his entire army in a strongly intrenched position on the heights beyond Worth, where they deemed themselves safe from assault.

They were, however, attacked by the resolute Germans, August 6. Bavarians and Prussians fought heroically side by side, their former quarrels forgotten in the glow and inspiration of battle. Prince Frederick, as he rode into Worth among them, was cheered as heartily by the South Germans as by his own subjects. Together the united Teutons charged up the steep hills and through tangled vineyards, until at last the French fled in utter rout. Most of MacMahon's army was scattered in the flight; his bravest regiments were piled in heaps of dead upon the field; a remnant of his forces retreated to the strong fortress city of Strasburg and were there besieged.

Meanwhile, the main German army was entering France further to the

north, where they were awaited by Napoleon III. with two hundred thousand men. The Germans had nearly three hundred thousand soldiers in line, with King William himself in supreme command—though the real guide and military director of the whole was Von Moltke. Bismarck, too, left Berlin to follow in person the movements of the mighty forces he had hurled against each other.

The first battle along the border line in this vicinity was fought at Spicheren, on the very day of MacMahon's defeat at Worth. The heights of Spicheren are so steep and rocky that they are at all times difficult to climb, yet German troops fought their way up in the face of a resolute foe. Men fell pierced by five bullets at once. "If this lasts much longer," said a sturdy old Prussian as he clambered upward, "we shall be in danger for our lives."

They forced the French from those heights; and more! before the day was over cavalry, and even artillery, labored to the summit. "But, my children," said King William afterward, as he looked at the slopes, "my children, it is absolutely impossible!" "Quite true, your Majesty. But it was done!"

The French army under Napoleon III. now retreated toward the celebrated fortress of Metz. MacMahon had raised a second army in the heart of France and was hurrying toward the frontier to join the main body. The union was never effected. By a series of hard-fought and bloody battles, the Germans forced themselves between Napoleon and his line of retreat and shut up his vast host in Metz.

The final contest by which this was accomplished was at Gravelotte (August 18). For one moment there it seemed as if Bismarck's plans would fail. The French carried a new rifle, the "chassepot," before which the German regiments melted like snow in the sun. At the crisis of the struggle Bismarck, wishing to learn what Moltke really thought of the outcome, offered him his cigar case. The old veteran devoted himself to selecting a cigar as deliberately as if seated at ease in his own home. Then Bismarck knew their cause was saved. So, indeed, it was. German reinforcements arrived, the French were everywhere swept back, and their entire army, still numbering with its reinforcements one hundred and seventy-five thousand men, was sealed up within the walls of Metz.

Napoleon III. was not with these imprisoned troops; he had turned over their command to his marshal, Bazaine, and joined MacMahon's new army. With this he now made a desperate attempt to retrieve his fortunes by passing round the German invaders to the north, to relieve Metz or perhaps invade Prussia. He was, however, surrounded at Sedan by overwhelming numbers. By repeated assaults, his soldiers were driven all together and huddled into the village of Sedan in a confused and helpless mass. The German artillery began

THE FRENCH CAVALRY DRIVEN BACK AT SEDAN

to pour shot and shell from the surrounding heights into the herds of beaten men, and Napoleon surrendered himself and his entire army on September 2.

"Having failed to find death in the midst of my troops," he wrote to King William, "it only remains for me to lay my sword at your majesty's feet." His soldiers, blaming him for their defeat, were furious against him; and it was really as a fugitive from his own army that he rode out of Sedan. He met Bismarck on the Donchery road and, accepting from the statesman who had outwitted him, the terms proposed for his personal surrender, he left France never to return.

This was the beginning of the end. The largest French force was, under Bazaine, shut up helplessly in Metz. The remnant of MacMahon's first army, some twenty thousand men, were besieged in Strasburg. The only free force had been that under Napoleon, which was captured at Sedan.

The French, however, with characteristic heroism refused to accept defeat. The Empire of Napoleon III., they said, had fallen through its leader's incompetency and neglect; but France was still undefeated. The captive Napoleon was declared deposed, and a republic was established. The chiefs of the new government sought peace, but refused to yield an inch of territory. Germany demanded that her long-lost lands of Alsace and Lorraine should be returned. So the war went on.

The main body of the German forces advanced under Moltke's leadership, upon Paris. The French, by tremendous efforts, raised meagre armies here and there, through the country, but these were ill-prepared and were defeated as fast as formed. The war really settled into the three celebrated sieges, of Strasburg, Metz, and Paris. Strasburg surrendered September 28; Metz, with its hordes of starving soldiers, October 27; but Paris bravely held out through all the long and dismal winter of 1870–1871.

The besieging and defensive operations around this great city have been pronounced the most stupendous of modern warfare. Nearly half a million men surrounded Paris from without, and probably as many were enrolled in the regiments within. The tale of the city's suffering belongs rather to French history than to German; but King William and his troops had also much hardship to endure. They were brave, patient, and determined; every effort of the besieged to break out was vigorously repulsed; and at last the French, acknowledging themselves defeated, secured a cessation of hostilities, January 26, though the formal surrender of the city did not take place until March 1.

The last active operations of the war were those undertaken by General Bourbaki, who raised an army in the south of France and attempted to invade Germany. He had a force in excess of one hundred thousand, but the troops

composing it, though brave and loyal, were inexperienced and more like a mob than an army. General Werder of Baden with an army of less than half the size, repulsed Bourbaki at every point in January of 1871. Finally, Bourbaki attempted suicide, while his troops, half-starved and half-naked, fled through the snowy mountains into Switzerland and laid down their arms.

Thus the actual fighting in this stupendous Franco-German war lasted for a period of only six months, from the beginning of August, 1870, to the end of January, 1871. Europe has not ceased marvelling at the colossal magnitude of the German operations and the overwhelming completeness of their success. Three enormous French armies, each numbering over a hundred thousand men, besides innumerable smaller bodies, were taken prisoners; a fourth immense host was driven into Switzerland. One hundred and sixty important engagements were fought, seventeen of which must be ranked among the world's great battles. Twenty-two fortresses were captured, three of which, Strasburg, Metz, and Paris, had been accounted impregnable. The loss of life on the German side alone reached hundreds of thousands. Bismarck had achieved an unparalleled triumph; but Germany had paid a solemn and awful price.

In view of the completeness of the victory, the terms of peace demanded were moderate and even magnanimous. France was made to pay a billion dollars toward the cost of the war, but all the territory taken from her was the ancient German land included in Alsace and Lorraine.

Most noteworthy of all is the fact that these provinces were not ceded to Prussia, but to a new power which, when the war began, did not exist. Events more important to Germans than the remarkable struggle itself had led on to new issues. Stimulated and swept forward in the great torrent of combat, the drama of German unity had been carried to its triumphant climax.

Germans of the North and of the South had been fused into one nation by their brotherhood in the heroic strife. Even before the surrender at Sedan, Bavaria expressed a desire to join the North German Union. The other states soon followed her lead; and the necessary changes in the constitution of the Union were speedily arranged.

A united Germany thus rose at last before men's sight. There could be no question as to who should sit upon its throne. King William was unanimously proffered the title of Emperor, which was to be hereditary in his family. Delays inevitably occurred. The empire itself was announced as beginning January 1, 1871, but it was not until January 14 that King William, writing from the headquarters of the army at Versailles, near Paris, addressed an open letter to all Germany, announcing that he assumed the imperial crown. He took it, he said, not in the spirit of those mediæval emperors who had wasted the strength of the nation in foreign conquest, but with the earnest

THE MEETING BETWEEN BISMARCK AND NAPOLEON III. AFTER SEDAN

desire to establish and preserve the peace and prosperity of Germany within her own ancient limits.

On January 18 the newly created Emperor, William I., stood in the great "Hall of Mirrors" at Versailles, surrounded by all his generals and all the German princes, while his title of "*Deutscher Kaiser*" (German Emperor) was formally proclaimed to the world.

THE HEIGHTS OF SPICHEREN

THE GERMAN EMPIRE SUMMONING ITS DEFENDERS

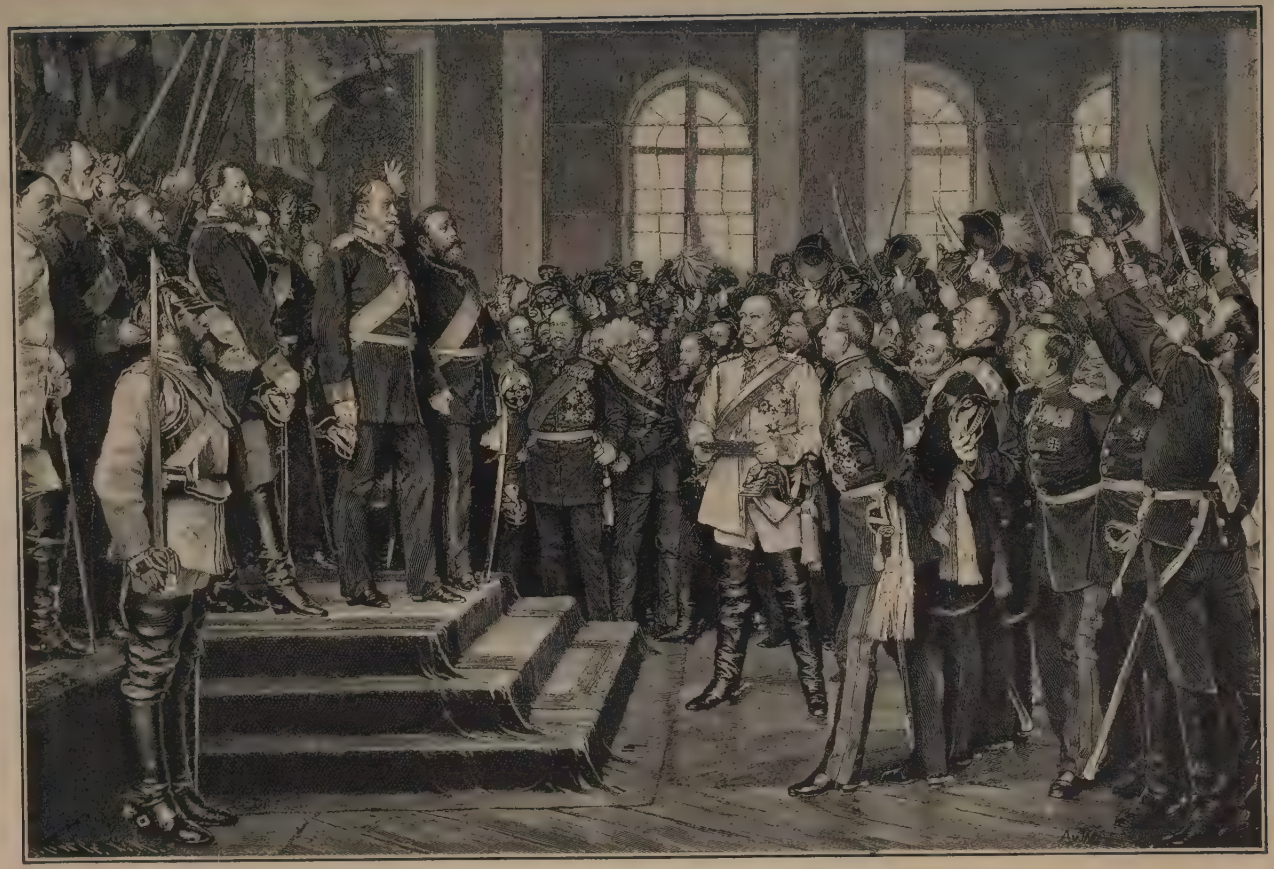
Chapter LXIX

THE NEW GERMAN EMPIRE.

THE story of ancient, discordant Germany, with its hundreds of little independent kingdoms, closed on January 18, 1871, when, amid the sullen booming of the Paris guns, the cheers that greeted a new empire, and a welcome Emperor, echoed and reechoed through the Versailles Hall of Mirrors. Another and far different tale was then begun, having for its subject the triumphant career of a powerful, united, and intensely patriotic people. The present German Empire seems as strong and firmly knit, as the former "Holy Roman Empire" was weak and loosely held together. Apparently Germans have at last learned the two great lessons of their history—that they must not seek to impose their rule upon other nations; nor upon one another.

So far, the new empire, with its new doctrines of peace and brotherhood, has been eminently successful. For a generation mankind has watched its course with respect and admiration. Let us look therefore for a moment at its methods and principles of government.

It is, like the American, an indissoluble union. At its head stands the Emperor, who is also King of Prussia, both ranks being hereditary in the Hohenzollern family. His powers and duties are very similar to those of the American President, except that his importance and opportunities are much increased by the fact that he holds office for life. He cannot, however, veto any legislation; he can only seek to dissolve the parliament whose laws he disapproves,



KING WILLIAM PROCLAIMED EMPEROR AT VERSAILLES

and call for the election of another. Much of the practical authority lies in the hands of the Imperial Chancellor, who is appointed by the Emperor and removable at his pleasure.

The parliament consists of two houses. The lower or Reichstag (Assembly of the Empire) has about four hundred members, elected as are the American representatives, directly by vote of the people, and apportioned according to the number of voters. The upper house or Bundesrath (Counsel of the Union) has about sixty members, who are allotted, not as in America, two to each state without regard to its size; nor, on the other hand, precisely according to population, since this would give Prussia a clear majority. The division of representation follows a compromise agreement, made among the German states; thus, Prussia has seventeen members, Bavaria six, and so on down. The representatives to the Bundesrath are appointed by any method their own states prefer. Indeed, each state retains whatever form of internal government chance and its rulers have given it.

There are twenty-six of these separate states, of which four are monarchies like Prussia, eighteen are duchies or other principalities, three, the free cities, are republics, and one, Alsace-Lorraine, is an imperial province under the government of the Emperor.

At first, of course, there were many doubts as to the stability of the new empire. So long as William I. ruled (1871–1888), his personal character, the love and veneration with which he was everywhere regarded, made his government secure; but when he ascended the throne he was already seventy-four years old. Fortunately he was spared to his people for seventeen years more. His happy fate included a majestic and peaceful old age, during which the union he had helped to form became strong enough to move onward independent of his kindly wisdom.

Under him there could be but one Imperial Chancellor. Bismarck, the greatest statesman of the age, was raised to the rank of Prince von Bismarck, and guided the course of the government which he of all men had done most to create.

In the same manner that he had measured the value to be gained by the two wars, he now weighed the need of a period of peaceful development for his land. German prowess seemed irresistible, other nations trembled before her, yet Bismarck sought only peace. France was sullen and vengeful. Austria, however, was eager for reconciliation with her mighty neighbor; and the celebrated "Triple Alliance" was formed on the part of Austria, Germany, and Italy, by which each pledged itself to support the others, if they were attacked. This "Triple Alliance," first formed in 1879 and renewed in 1902, has been a chief factor in keeping peace in Europe for a quarter of a century.

There were many parliamentary storms for Bismarck to face. Among the earliest was a struggle with the Catholic, or Clerical, party. This began with the very first meeting of the Reichstag. The Clericals insisted upon placing the interests of the Pope above those of the empire. The Chancellor attempted harsh, repressive measures, promulgated in May, 1873, and known as the May Laws. In the height of the struggle Bismarck referred to the old contest between the Emperor Henry IV. and Pope Gregory, and made his well-known declaration, "Whatever happens, *we* will not go to Canossa." Yet to Canossa he went, that is to say, he finally yielded almost everything the Clerical party demanded.

It was perhaps the single defeat in the great statesman's career. The Clericals had a remarkably able leader, Dr. Windthorst, and oppression placed the Catholics in the light of an injured people. Their party in the Reichstag grew stronger, until it succeeded in blocking legislation almost entirely. Concessions followed upon each side, and finally, in 1887, the objectionable May Laws were repealed. The deep-seated difference of thought, however, will probably always remain between the Clericals and the empire; there seems no possibility of perfect agreement. The death of Windthorst in 1891 destroyed much of the power of his party.

A difficulty even more serious arose in connection with the Prussian army. The success which the enormous and costly military force had lately won for them was at first so vividly before the people's eyes that the Reichstag readily passed every army measure that the Emperor desired. Military supplies were voted for seven years, and then again for seven more, whence these bills were called "Septennats." The country, however, began to suffer under the heavy taxes. In 1886, when the Septennat came up for the third time, the Reichstag refused to pass it. Bismarck and Moltke made earnest and forceful appeals. Bismarck pointed out the persistent resolution of France to reconquer Alsace-Lorraine, saying: "The danger of bloodshed fully justifies this bill. The likelihood of war diminishes only as our military strength increases."

Moltke said: "The Triple Alliance is indeed valuable, but I believe a state only stands secure when it depends, under God, upon its own single strength. An unsuccessful war would cost us far more than the most expensive military organization. You know the miseries of foreign invasion. By heavy sacrifices we have secured unity and established an empire. The world has learned now that we do not seek for conquest; but it must learn also that we intend to keep what we have gained. For fifteen years we have been blessed with peace, and we owe this happiness to the wisdom of our Emperor and the statesmanship of the Imperial Chancellor. Yet even they cannot continue to give us peace without the support of such an army as they ask."

BISMARCK DICTATING HIS MEMOIRS

Despite these arguments the bill was rejected. Immediately rumors of French war preparations began to fill the land. The Reichstag was promptly dissolved, the people were appealed to, and they, still loyal to their Emperor, returned a tremendous government majority in favor of the bill.

In truth, however, Germany's military system, valuable as it proved in 1871, has now grown into a monster that threatens to devour its creators. Nay, more, it weighs like a deadly incubus upon all Europe. The lesson of the Franco-German war roused other governments to their dangers; they could have been crushed as readily as France; so they also hurried to increase their armed strength in imitation of Prussia. The inevitable result has followed. Europe resembles a vast camp of armed soldiers. The amount annually expended on munitions of war has grown to incalculable proportions. The great powers watch one another like so many jealous bulldogs, and as fast as one adds a regiment to its army, or a vessel to its navy, the others hasten to do the same. This necessitates an ever-increasing taxation; and no man can say what will be the end.

The fatal drain begins to tell on European resources. In Germany especially, every man, except in the case of a favored few, is obliged to give three years of his early manhood to military service and training. Many emigrate to foreign countries rather than submit to this. The ancient German individualism and defiance of restraint is thus displaying itself in a wholly new form.

Fanatical socialists, incensed in part at least by the German military system, thrice attempted the life of Emperor William during his later years. The most serious of these assaults was in 1878, when a man shot and severely wounded him in the face. For a time it was thought the aged Emperor could not recover, and a great wail of sorrow went up from all his people, such as was re-echoed when at last his venerable life was finally extinguished in 1888. Not perhaps since the time of Charlemagne has any death been so widely and sincerely regretted, not only in Germany but throughout the world.

The second sovereign of the new empire was William's only son. The victor of Worth, the hero of Koeniggratz, the idol of the nation, Frederick I., "Unser Fritz" became Emperor. His rule lasted only a few months (March–June, 1888). He was dying of cancer in the throat even when he ascended the throne; and his reign, from which the German liberals and the peace party had once hoped so much, proved only the fleeting shadow of a death-bed. His sufferings were nobly borne, and his people mourned his end probably as deeply as they had his father's. William had been called the Ever-Victorious. Frederick, from his well-known aversion to war, was named the Peace-Emperor.

Frederick was succeeded by his eldest son, the present Emperor, William II. He was only twenty-nine when called to assume his tremendously re-

sponsible position. He was known to be an enthusiastic believer in the army, a follower of his grandfather, rather than his father; and Germany, as well as the rest of Europe, watched both with anxiety and misgiving to see whither he would lead them. Fortunately for the world, despite a certain impulsiveness and arrogance of temper, occasionally displayed, but happily growing less with the passing years, he has wisely maintained the now traditional peace policy of Germany.

Before his accession, William II. was the friend and disciple of the aged Chancellor Bismarck; and the pilot who had held the helm through two administrations continued at his post under the third. In 1890, however, serious divisions of opinion arose between the Emperor and the Chancellor. William was determined upon his own way. Bismarck, seventy-five years old, could not learn to bend. The Emperor demanded his resignation, and on his refusal to resign, forced him from office.

The sympathies of the nation naturally went to the venerable and illustrious statesman. He retired to his castle of Friedrichsruhe, and there spent the declining years of his life in honored retirement, engaged in writing those remarkable memoirs which have so much interested and instructed the world. In 1894 a reconciliation was patched up between him and the Emperor, but he was not invited to resume office. Bismarck died, July 30, 1898. Perhaps no other statesman has ever wielded so tremendous an influence as he, in shaping the destinies of Europe.

The question on which Bismarck finally broke with his young sovereign seems to have been that of socialism. After the attempts on the life of William I. severe laws were passed for the repression of the socialistic party. In defiance of these laws it throve, until in the end a more liberal policy was adopted toward it. William II. especially declared himself in favor of state help for the working classes, "paternalism" as it is called; and in this direction Germany has now gone further than any other government. At present there is in Germany a compulsory fund gathered from workingmen, from employers, and from the Government, and used as an insurance for relief against illness, old age, and death. This is partly the work of William II., and more than once he has been cheered by his people as "the workingman's Emperor."

About 1894 the Emperor's attitude toward socialism began to change, as he found it remained powerful and vindictive, notwithstanding his concessions. Recently he has made violent speeches against it, and advocated drastic laws for its suppression. But political economists tell us that German socialism cannot be crushed so long as German military oppression continues, that it is the natural outcome of militarism and must increase in proportion to the growth of its cause.

THE CELEBRATION AT THE OPENING OF THE KIEL CANAL, 1896

Commercially, the German Empire, at first a free-trade country, has gradually veered in the direction of high tariff duties. Effort has been specially made thus to protect her own agricultural interests, which have greatly suffered through Russian and American competition. Several important canals have been built to improve trade facilities, the first and most noteworthy, the Kiel Canal, being opened by the Emperor himself, with imposing ceremonies, in 1895. It crosses the base of the Danish peninsula, thus saving more than two day's time to vessels plying between the North and the Baltic seas.

As early as 1884, Germany joined in the great European scramble for lands in Africa and Asia. She possesses valuable African colonies, and after the Spanish-American war she purchased from Spain most of that country's remaining islands in the Pacific. In 1897 Germany secured an important foothold in China. The murder of two German missionaries was made an excuse for sending a large naval force to China under the Emperor's brother, Prince Henry. As an act of conciliation, the port and neighborhood of Kiau-Chau were leased to the offended power, and have become practically a German colony. When in 1900 the "Boxers" in China rose against foreigners, the German minister in Pekin was slain, and Germany became a leader in the punitive measures of the powers. Count von Waldersee, the German commander, being the general of highest rank among the foreign forces in China, was appointed to command them all. The full account of the Chinese troubles belongs more properly, however, to the history of China.

The German foreign policy under Emperor William II. has been, on the whole, one of resolute defiance toward France and Russia, and of conciliation toward Italy, and the nations more or less akin to the Teutonic race—Austria, England, and the United States. Thus England was allowed, unopposed, to assail the Boers in South Africa, though Emperor William personally seemed eager to extend his protection to them, as far-off descendants of the German race. The death of Queen Victoria, who was William's grandmother, was made by him an occasion of expressing his personal good feeling toward the English; and in 1901, the death of his mother, the Empress Frederick, who was Queen Victoria's oldest daughter, brought English and German royalty again together in close sympathy.

Toward the United States, Germany's attitude was looked upon as offensive during the Spanish war, when Admiral Dewey and Admiral von Diederich almost came to blows in Manila Bay; but the German Government has since taken every opportunity to efface this unpleasant impression. Emperor William has been loud in his expressions of regard, and in 1902 he took advantage of the construction of his private yacht *Meteor* by an American firm, to request the President's daughter, Miss Alice Roosevelt, to christen it. The

Emperor sent his chief subject, Prince Henry, to this country to attend the ceremony. The Prince's visit was made one round of elaborate entertainments; and all ill-feeling between the two great countries seems fortunately to have blown by. In the summer of 1903, the Emperor gave unprecedented attention and special courtesy to the officers of the American naval squadron which visited Kiel. Toward France his attitude has been very different. In 1906 he deliberately interfered with French plans in Morocco; and the old antagonism between the two great neighbor nations seemed rearoused. The international conference at Algeciras became necessary.

Outside this temporary difficulty Germany has but two serious perils confronting her—militarism and socialism. If she can find a solution of these two perplexing and dangerous problems, her future seems assured. Her imperial rulers have proved vigorous and able. Emperor William's famous speech of a decade ago declaring for "One kingdom, one people, one God," may be accepted as their watchword. Her people are devotedly loyal; her educational system is remarkable in its completeness and scientific construction; and her statesmen, writers, and philosophers rank, as does Germany herself, among the foremost leaders of the world.

BISMARCK

THE LAUNCHING OF THE GERMAN EMPEROR'S AMERICAN YACHT

FREDERICK OF NUREMBERG TAKES POSSESSION OF BERLIN

CHRONOLOGY OF GERMANY

B.C. 700—Approximate date of the entry of the German tribes into Germany. 113—The Cimbri and Teutones invade Italy and defeat the Roman armies. 102—Teutones exterminated at Aquæ Sextiæ. 101—Cimbri exterminated at Vercelli. 58—Ariovistus defeated by Cæsar. 55—Cæsar invades Germany. 12—Drusus conquers much of Germany.

A.D. 9—Hermann defeats Varus and frees Germany. 16—The Romans evacuate the land. 19—Hermann overthrows Maroboduus. 166—Wars of the Marcomanni against Rome. 250—Beginning of Frankish invasions into Gaul. 350—Magnentius, a German, proclaimed Emperor of Rome but defeated. 358-378—Ulfilas preached Christianity among the Goths. 375—Invasion of the Huns, forces the general movement of the German tribes into the empire of Rome. 410—Alaric captures Rome. 451—Defeat of the Huns at Chalons. 481—Clovis becomes king of the Salic Franks. 486—Wins northern Gaul by battle of Soissons. 496—Defeats the Alemanni at Zulpich and becomes a Christian. 500—Chosen king by the East Franks in Germany. 507—Conquers southern Gaul at Vienne. 511—Death of Clovis. 575—Murder of Siegbert, wars of Fredegonde and Brunhild. 613—Death of Brunhild. 687—Battle of Testri establishes the supremacy of East over West-Franks. 700—Saint Boniface begins the conversion of Germany. 732—Charles Martel overthrows the Arabs at Tours. 751—The Merovingians deposed, Pepin the Short made king. 755—Martyrdom of Saint Boniface by the

Frisians. 768—Charlemagne becomes king. 772—Begins the subjugation of the Saxons. 774—Conquers Lombardy. 785—Baptism of Wittekind. 800 (Dec. 25)—Charlemagne crowned Emperor at Rome, beginning of the "Holy Roman Empire."

804—End of the Saxon wars. 814—Death of Charlemagne. 843—Treaty of Verdun marks the separation of Germany from the balance of the empire. 891—Arnulf defeats the Norsemen at Loewen. 895—Captures Rome and is crowned Emperor. 899—Death of Arnulf and desolation of Germany. 911—Ludwig the Child defeated by the Hungarians. Threatened disruption of Germany. Conrad of Franconia elected king by the free choice of the Germans. 915—Conrad defeated by the Saxons at Merseburg. 918—The Saxon, Henry "the City-Builder," becomes king and reorganizes Germany. 928—Begins Christianizing the Wends; captures Brannibor; establishes knighthood. 933—Overthrows the Hungarians at Merseburg. 955—Otto the Great conquers the Hungarians at the Lech. 962—Otto the Great re-establishes the empire of Charlemagne as a purely German empire. 1000—The end of the world expected, consequent famines. 1003—Henry II. begins raising the power of the bishops. 1024—Death of Henry II., the last of the Saxon emperors; the Franconian line restored with Conrad II. 1032—Burgundy added to the German empire by Conrad. 1039–56—Henry III. begins extending the authority of the empire over Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary. 1043—The "Truce of God." 1046—Henry III. deposes the rival Popes at Sutri. 1056–1105—Disastrous reign of Henry IV. 1062—The child Henry IV. abducted. 1076—Henry IV. begins the long quarrel with the Popes. 1077—Submits to Pope Gregory at Canossa. 1080—Defeats his rival Rudolf of Swabia and establishes himself firmly on the throne. 1081–84—Revenges himself on the Pope by besieging and capturing Rome. 1096—The First Crusade. 1105—Revolt of the Emperor's son, Henry; the Emperor deposed. 1122—Henry V. makes peace with the Pope. 1125—Death of Henry V. and end of the Franconian line. 1138—Conrad of Hohenstaufen becomes Emperor; the wars of Welf and Waibling begin. 1152–90—Reign of Frederick Barbarossa. 1157—He begins his struggle with the Popes. 1162—He conquers and destroys Milan. 1176—Is defeated at Lignano by the Italian Welfs. 1183—Makes peace at Constance. 1189–90—Frederick heads a great crusade and dies in Asia. 1208—Murder of Philip of Swabia. 1212—Frederick II. leaves Sicily to win Germany. 1214—Otto IV. defeated by the French at Bouvines and Frederick II. acknowledged Emperor. 1227—Frederick begins his quarrel with the Popes. 1228—Heads a Crusade and is crowned King of Jerusalem. 1231—The "Teutonic Order" begins the conquest of heathen Prussia and founds the city of Thorn. 1237—Frederick II. defeats the Italian

THE HOHENZOLLERNS

Frederick William II.
Frederick William IV.
Frederick II.

The Great Elector
Frederick I
William II.
William I

Frederick William III.
Frederick III.
Frederick William I.

cities at Cortenuova. **1241**—Last Asiatic invasion of Germany checked at Liegnitz. **1241**—Founding of the Hanseatic League. **1250**—Death of Frederick and downfall of the Hohenstaufens. **1254–73**—The Great Interregnum in Germany. **1257**—Richard of Cornwall and Alfonso of Castile each purchase the German throne. **1268**—Conradin, "the last of the Hohenstaufens," executed in Naples. **1273**—Rudolf of Hapsburg elected Emperor, and checks the anarchy in Germany. **1278**—He overthrows Ottocar of Bohemia and establishes the house of Hapsburg in Austria. **1292**—Death of Rudolf. **1298**—His son Albert defeats Adolf of Nassau and becomes Emperor. **1307**—Uprising of the Swiss. **1308**—Albert slain by his nephew, John the Parricide. Henry of Luxemburg becomes Emperor and makes his family powerful in Bohemia. **1313**—Henry poisoned in Italy. **1315**—Victory of the Swiss at Morgarten. **1346**—A terrible plague, "the Black Death," devastates Europe. **1347**—Charles IV. establishes the Luxemburg or Bohemian line of emperors. **1356**—He proclaims the "Golden Bull." **1378**—Wenzel becomes Emperor and utterly neglects his duties. **1386**—Swiss victory at Sempach. **1410**—Wenzel deposed by his brother Sigismund. Three Emperors and three Popes reign at once. **1414**—Sigismund calls the Council of Constance which terminates the papal schism. **1415**—Martyrdom of Huss. **1415**—Frederick of Hohenzollern becomes Elector of Brandenburg. **1418**—End of the Council of Constance. **1419–1436**—Hussite wars. **1438**—Albert of Austria becomes Emperor and permanently establishes the Hapsburg line. **1450**—Invention of printing. **1477**—Maximilian of Austria marries Mary of Burgundy. **1493–1519**—Reign of Maximilian; end of the Middle Ages. **1517** (Oct. 31)—Luther nails up his theses; beginning of the Reformation. **1519–1556**—Reign of Charles V. **1520**—Luther burns the papal "bull." **1521**—Luther before the Diet at Worms. **1525**—The Peasants' Insurrection. **1529**—Luther's followers receive the name of "Protestants." **1530**—They proclaim their doctrines in the Confession of Augsburg. **1546**—Death of Luther; war of Charles V. against the Protestants. **1552**—Revolt of Maurice of Saxony. **1555**—The "Peace of Augsburg" establishes equality of the rival faiths. **1556**—Charles V. abdicates. **1618**—The "Defenestration" at Prague begins the Thirty Years' War. **1619**—The war in Bohemia; Frederick, Elector of the Palatinate, made King of Bohemia. **1620**—The battle of White Mountain, flight of the "winter king," surrender of Bohemia; its devastation; the war shifts to the Rhine. **1625**—Denmark enters the war; Wallenstein raises his first army. **1626**—Defeats Mansfeld. **1628**—Fails at Stralsund. **1630**—Gustavus Adolphus enters the war. **1631**—Tilly sacks Magdeburg; defeated by Gustavus at Leipsic. **1632**—Defeat and death of Tilly at the Lech. Wallenstein raises another army; defeated by Gustavus at Lutzen; death of

Gustavus. **1632–1648**—Utter desolation of Germany. **1634**—Treason and death of Wallenstein. **1640–88**—The Great Elector rules Brandenburg and Prussia. **1648**—Peace of Westphalia; surrender of German territory to France and Sweden. French influence powerful in Germany under Louis XIV. **1660**—The Great Elector makes Prussia independent of Poland. **1675**—The Great Elector defeats the Swedes at Fehrbellin; conquers Pomerania; builds a navy. **1679**—Loses his conquests by the treaty of Nymwegen. **1683**—Siege of Vienna by the Turks. **1685**—Protestants driven from France, settle in Brandenburg. **1688**—French troops sack the Palatinate. **1697**—Eugene defeats the Turks at Zenta. **1701**—Frederick I. crowned at Koenigsberg as the first King of Prussia. **1701–14**—War of the Austrian Succession. **1704**—The French defeated at Blenheim by Marlborough and Eugene. **1708**—French defeated at Oudenarde and **1709** Malplaquet. **1720**—Frederick William I. of Prussia wins Pomerania from Sweden. **1736**—Maria Theresa of Austria marries Francis of Lorraine. **1740**—Frederick the Great becomes King of Prussia, and Maria Theresa ascends the Austrian throne. **1740–42**—First Silesian war. **1741**—Battle of Mollwitz; Maria Theresa appeals to the Hungarians. **1744–45**—Second Silesian war. **1745**—Prussian victories of Hohenfriedburg, Sorr, and Kesselsdorf; general peace; Francis of Lorraine crowned Emperor. **1756–63**—The Seven Years' War. **1756**—Battle of Lobositz; Frederick conquers Saxony and winters at Dresden. **1757**—Is victorious at Moldau, encounters his first defeat at Kollin; wins a splendid victory over the French at Rossbach and over the Austrians at Leuthen. **1758**—Frederick defeats the Russians at Zorndorf; is defeated at Hochkirch. **1759**—The disaster at Kunnersdorf, the lowest ebb of Frederick's fortunes. **1760**—The capture of Berlin, victories of Liegnitz and Torgau. **1762**—The Russians unite with Prussia; defeat of the Austrians at Reichenbach. **1763**—End of the Seven Years' War. **1765**—Joseph II. becomes Emperor. **1772**—First partition of Poland. **1778–79**—The "Potato" war. **1780**—Death of Maria Theresa. **1786**—German League against Austria under Prussian guidance. **1786**—Death of Frederick the Great. **1789**—Outbreak of the French Revolution. **1790–1792**—Leopold II., Emperor. **1792–1806**—Francis II., Emperor. **1792**—France declares war against Austria and Prussia; Prussia invades France, defeated at Valmy; Austria defeated at Jemappes. **1793**—Second partition of Poland. **1795**—Final partition of Poland. **1796**—Napoleon captures Italy from Austria. **1797**—Treaty of Campo Formio. **1798**—The Second Coalition drives France from Italy. **1800**—Napoleon reconquers Italy at Marengo, Austria defeated at Hohenlinden. **1801**—Treaty of Luneville advances French territory to the Rhine. **1803**—Most of the little German states wiped out by Napoleon. **1805**—Defeat of Austria and Russia at Austerlitz. **1806**—Napo-

THE BATTLE OF FEHRBELLIN

leon establishes the Confederation of the Rhine; Francis II. declares the Holy Roman Empire at an end. Prussia makes war on Napoleon, defeated at Jena and Auerstadt, capture of Berlin. **1807**—Battles of Eylau and Friedland; Russia and France agree to divide the world; Treaty of Tilsit crushes Prussia. **1809**—Austria revolts against France, defeated at Wagram. **1810**—Napoleon marries Maria Louisa, annexes North Germany to France. Death of Queen Louise. **1812**—Prussia, Austria, and the Rhine Confederation lend Napoleon troops to conquer Russia, disastrous Russian campaign. **1813**—The Prussian Uprising; battles of Lutzen, Gross-beeren, the Katzbach, and Leipsic; the Fifth Coalition. **1814**—The war in France, capture of Paris, Congress of Vienna, quarrels of the Allies. **1815**—Napoleon's last effort; battles of Ligny and Waterloo, Blucher in Paris. The new map of Europe; the German Confederation. **1817**—Clamor of the people for constitutional government and a strong, united Germany. **1818**—Formation of the Zollverein or Toll-union. **1830**—Revolutionary outbreaks in Brunswick and elsewhere. **1833**—Revolutionary riot in Frankfort. **1848**—The Year of Revolutions; riots everywhere; Frederick William IV. of Prussia takes the lead for constitutional government and German unity; a national assembly meets at Frankfort but fails to accomplish much. **1849**—The Prussian King offered the barren title of Emperor, declines. **1861**—William I. becomes King of Prussia. **1862**—Bismarck made his Prime Minister; the Prussian army reorganized; unconstitutional acts of Bismarck and King William. **1864**—Prussia and Austria war against Denmark for Schleswig-Holstein, then quarrel over the duchies. **1866**—Most of the German states join Austria in her quarrel against Prussia; war declared; Prussia overwhelms Hanover, Hesse, and Saxony, invades Bohemia, crushes Austria at Koeniggratz (Aug. 3). The Treaty of Prague excludes Austria from German affairs. North German Union formed under Prussia; Hanover and other states annexed to Prussia. South German Confederation formed. **1870**—France declares war because of the Ems incident; the South German states uphold Prussia; German army invades France; battles of Weissenburg, Worth, Spicheren, Gravelotte. Napoleon III. surrenders at Sedan (Sept. 2). Bazaine surrenders at Metz (Oct. 27). Paris besieged. The South German states join the Prussian union. **1871**—The German Empire announced as beginning Jan. 1st. King William proclaimed Emperor at Versailles (Jan. 18). Paris capitulates; final peace signed at Frankfort (May 10). **1871–1888**—William I., Emperor. **1872**—Struggle begins between Bismarck and the Clericals. **1873**—May laws passed. **1878**—Two attempts made against Emperor William's life; Socialist troubles grow serious, repressive laws. **1879**—Alliance with Austria, beginning of the "Triple Alliance." **1881**—"Paternal" legislation begun for the working classes. **1884**—Germany takes possession of large tracts

in Africa for colonies. **1887**—Trouble over the military bills, the people uphold Bismarck and the Emperor. **1888**—(March–June) Frederick III., Emperor. **1888**—William II., Emperor. **1890**—Bismarck dismissed from the Chancellorship, succeeded by Caprivi. **1891**—Death of Moltke. **1894**—Reconciliation of Bismarck and the Emperor. **1894**—Caprivi succeeded by Hohenlohe. **1895**—Opening of the Kiel Canal. **1897**—Assassination of German missionaries leads to the cession of Kiau-Chau in China to the Germans. **1898**—Bismarck died. **1899**—Spain transfers the Caroline and other Pacific Islands to Germany. **1900**—German minister to China murdered by the "boxers"; military investment of China under General von Waldersee. Prince Hohenlohe retires from the Imperial Chancellorship and is succeeded by Von Bulow. **1901**—Death of the Empress Frederick. **1902**—Prince Henry visits the United States. **1906**—Germany demands an International Conference over Morocco.

RULERS OF GERMANY

Merovingian Kings.

496—Clovis.
511—Theodoric.
558—Clotar I.
561—Siegbert.
575—Brunhild.
613—Clotar II.
622—Dagobert.

Mayors of the Palace.

638—Pepin of Landen.
656—Grimoald.
681—Pepin of Herestal.
714—Charles Martel.
741—Pepin le Bref.

Carlovingian Kings.

752—Pepin le Bref.
768—Charles and Carloman.
771—Charlemagne.

Carlovingian Emperors.

800—Charlemagne.
814—Louis the Pious.
840—Lothair.

Carlovingian Kings.

(Ruling in Germany but sometimes Emperors also.)

843—Ludwig II., the German.
876—Charles the Fat.
881—Arnulf.
899—Ludwig III., the Child.

Franconian King.

911—Conrad I.

Saxon Kings.

919—Henry I., the City-Builder.
936—Otto I.

Saxon Emperors.

962—Otto I., the Great.
973—Otto II.
983—Otto III., the Wonder-child.
1002—Henry II.

1813. THE KING OF PRUSSIA WELCOMED IN BRESLAU

FRANCONIAN EMPERORS.

1024—Conrad II.
1039—Henry III.
1056—Henry IV.
1106—Henry V.

SAXON EMPEROR.

1125—Lothair II.

HOHENSTAUFEN EMPERORS.

1138—Conrad III.
1152—Frederick Barbarossa.
1190—Henry VI.
1197—Philip.
1208—Otto IV. (of Saxony).
1215—Frederick II.
1250—Conrad IV.

THE GREAT INTERREGNUM.

(*Nominal emperors.*)

1254—William of Holland.
1257—{ Richard of Cornwall. / Alphonso of Castile.

SEPARATE EMPERORS.

1273—Rudolf of Hapsburg.
1291—Adolf of Nassau.
1298—Albert of Hapsburg.
1308—Henry VII., of Luxemburg.
1314—Ludwig IV., of Bavaria.

LUXEMBURG EMPERORS.

1347—Charles IV.
1378—Wenzel.
1410—Sigismund.

HAPSBURG EMPERORS.

1438—Albert II.
1440—Frederick III.
1493—Maximilian I.
1519—Charles V.
1558—Ferdinand I.
1564—Maximilian II.
1576—Rudolf II.
1612—Matthias.
1619—Ferdinand II.
1637—Ferdinand III.
1657—Leopold I.
1705—Joseph I.
1711—Charles VI.

BAVARIAN EMPEROR.

1742—Charles VII.

HAPSBURG-LORRAINE EMPERORS.

1745—Francis I.
1765—Joseph II.
1790—Leopold II.
1792—Francis II.
1806—*End of the Holy Roman Empire.*

THE HOHENZOLLERNS.

KINGS OF PRUSSIA.

1701—Frederick I.
1713—Frederick William I.
1740—Frederick II., the Great.
1786—Frederick William II.
1797—Frederick William III.
1840—Frederick William IV.
1861—William I.

GERMAN EMPERORS.

1871—William I.
1888—Frederick III.
1888—William II.

SANS-SOUCI

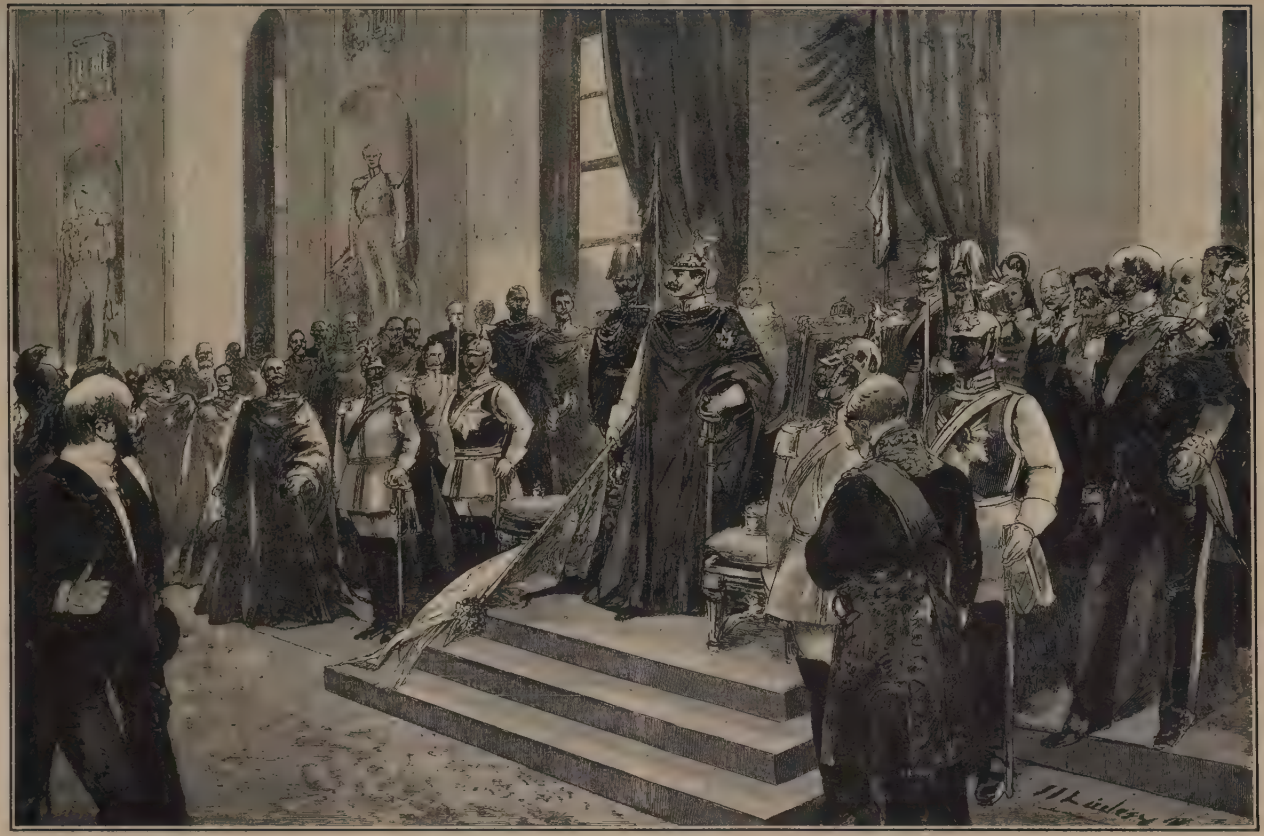
PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY FOR GERMANY

Aachen (ah′kĕn)
Abd-er-rahman (ahbd′er-rah′măn)
Adalbert (ăd′ĕl-bĕrt)
Adelheid (ăd′ĕl-hīd)
Aetius (a-ē′shĭ-ŭs)
Aix (āks)
Alaric (ăl′ă-rĭk)
Alberich (ăl′bĕ-rĭhk)
Alemanni (ah′lĕ-măn′ē)
Alsace (ahl′sahs)
Ariovistus (ā′ri-o-vĭs′tŭs)
Arnulf (ar′nŭlf)
Attila (ăt′ĭ-lă)
Auerstadt (ow′ĕr-stadt)
Augsburg (owgs′boork)
Aurelian (aw-rē′lĭ-ăn)
Austerlitz (ows′tĕr-lĭts)
Baldur (bahl′dŭr)
Balthes (bal′thĕs)
Barbarossa (bahr-ba-rōs′să)
Bazaine (bah′zān′)
Benedetti (bā-nā-dĕt′tē)
Berengar (bā-rĕn-gar′)
Bernadotte (bĕr′nah-dŏt′)
Besançon (bĕz-ŏng′sŏng′)
Bismarck (bĭz′mark)
Blenheim (blĕn′ĭm)
Blucher, von (fŏn bloo′-kĕr)
Boniface (bŏn′ĭ-fāce)
Bouvines (bou′vēn)
Brandenburg (brahn′dĕn-boork)
Breslau (brĕs′low)
Brunhild (broon′hĭld)
Bulow, von (fŏn buē′lō)
Cajetanus (kăzh′ĕ-tăn′-ŭs)
Calvin (kăl′vin)
Campo Formio (kahm′pō for′me-ō)
Canossa (kah-nŏs′să)
Caprivi (kah-prē′vē)
Chalons (shah′lŏng′)
Charlemagne (shar′lĕ-mān)
Charles Martel (mar-tĕl′, *in French* sharl)
Cherusci (kē-rŭs′kĭ)
Childeric (chĭl′dĕr-ik)
Cimbri (sĭm′brĭ)
Clotar (klō′tar)
Clotilde (klō-tēld′)
Clovis (klō′vĭs)
Cluny (kluē′nē′)
Cologne (kō-lōn′)
Courbiere (koor′bē-air)

BISMARCK AND MOLTKE ON THE ROAD TO PARIS

Cunigunde (koo-nĭ-gŭn′dĕ)
Czernichef (chĕr′nē-kĕf)
Desiderius (dĕs-ĭ-dē′ri-ŭs)
Deutchen (doitchn)
Diederich (dē′dĕ-rĭhk)
Dietrich (dē′trĭhk)
Durer (duē′rĕr)
Eberhard (ā′bĕr-hart)
Elbe (ĕlb)
Ems (ĕms)
Enzio (ĕn′thĭ-o)
Eylau (ī′low)
Fehrbellin (fair-bĕl-lēn′)
Fenris (fĕn′rĭs)
Forchheim (fork′hīm)
Fredegonde (frā′dā-gōnd′)
Friedland (frēt′lahnt)
Frisia (frēz′ĭ-ă)
Geiseric (jī′sĕr-ĭk)
Germanicus (jĕr-măn′ĭ-kŭs)
Ghent (gĕnt)
Goethe (gĕr′-tĕ)
Goslar (gŏs′lahr)
Graudenz (grow′dents)
Gravelotte (grahv′lōt′)
Gross-beeren (grōs-bēr′ĕn)
Gunther (guēn′tĕr)
Gutenberg (goo′tĕn-bĕrk)
Hagen (hah′-gĕn)
Hansa (hăn′să)
Hapsburg (hahps′boork)
Hermann (hĕr′mahn)
Hochkirch (hŏk′kĭrk)
Hofer (hō′fĕr)
Hohenlinden (hō′ĕn-lĭn′dĕn)
Hohenstaufen (hō′ĕn-stow′fĕn)
Hohenzollern (hō′ĕn-tsŏl′ĕrn)
Huss (hŭss)
Iolanthe (ē-ō-lăn′thĕ)
Jemappes (zhā-mahp′)
Jena (jĕn′a *or* yā′na)
Jotunheim (yer′tŭn-hīm)
Kaiserwerth (kī′zĕrs-vert)
Kiau-Chau (kē-ow-chow)
Kiel (kēl)
Koeniggratz (ker′nēhk-rĕts)
Koenigsberg (ker′nĭhks-berk)
Kollin (kōl′ēn′)
Kriemhild (krēm′hĭld)
Kunnersdorf (koon′ĕrs-dŏrf)
Kyberg (kī′boork)
Kyfhauser (kĭf′hoi-zĕr)
Langensalza (lahng′ĕn-sal-za)
Lech (lĕk)
Leipzig (līp′sĭk)
Lessing (lĕs′ĭng)
Leuthen (loi′tĕn)
Liegnitz (lēg′nĭts)
Lignano (lēn-yah′no)
Ligny (lēn′yē)
Lobositz (lō′bō-sĭts)
Loki (lō′kĭ)
Loire (lwar)
Lothair (lō-thair′)
Lubeck (luē′bĕk)
Lutzen (luēt′sĕn)
Luxemburg (lŭks′ĕm-bŭrg)
Magdeburg (mahk′dĕ-boork)
Malplaquet (mahl′-pla-kā′)
Marcomanni (măr′cō-măn′nĭ)
Marengo (mă-rĕn′go)
Maroboduus (măr-ō-bŏd′u-us)
Maximilian (măks-ĭ-mĭl′yăn)
Melancthon (mĕ-lănk′thon)
Merovaeus (mĕr-ō′vē-ŭs)
Merovingian (mĕr-o-vĭn′gi-an)
Merseburg (mĕr′sĕ-boork)
Metternich (mĕt′ĕr-nĭk)
Metz (mĕts)
Moltke (mōlt′kĕ)

Morgarten (mŏr-gar′tn)
Neisse (nī′sĕ)
Neustria (noi′strĭ-ă)
Nibelung (nĭ′bĕ-lŭng′)
Niemen (nē′mĕn)
Nuremberg (nū′rĕm-bĕrg)
Nymwegen (nĭm-wā′gĕn)
Odoacer (ō-dō-ā′ser)
Oudenarde (ow′dĕn-ărd′ĕ)
Paderborn (pah′dĕr-bōrn)
Palatinate (pa-lăt′ĭ-nāt)
Pepin (pĕp′ĭn)
Pomerania (pŏm′ĕ-rā′nĭ-ă)
Prague (prāg)
Reichstag (rīks′tag)
Rheims (rēmz)
Riga (rē′gă)
Rossbach (rŏss′-bahk)
Rugen (ruē′gĕn)
Sadowa (sah-dō′wă *or* sah′dō-wă)
Sans-Souci (sahn-soo-sē)
Schiller (shĭl′ĕr)
Sclav (sklahv)
Schleswig-Holstein (shlās′wēk-hōl′stīn)
Sedan (sĕ-dŏng′)
Segestes (sĕ-jĕs′tēz)
Sempach (sĕm′pahk)
Siegbert (sēg′bĕrt)
Siegfried (sēg′frēd)
Sigismund (sĭj′ĭs-mŭnd)
Sobieski (sō-bē-ĕs′kē)
Soissons (swă′sōng′)
Spicheren (spēk′ĕrn)
Spires (spīr)
Stein (stīn)
Stralsund (strahl′soont)
Strasburg (strahs′boork)
Syagrius (sē-ā′grĭ-ŭs)
Tannhauser (tahn′hoi-zĕr)
Testri (tās′trĕ)
Teutoberger (tū-tō-berk′ĕr)
Teutones (tū-tō′nēz)
Theodoric (thē-ŏd′ō-rĭk)
Thuringia (thū-rĭn′jĭ-ă)
Thusnelda (tūs-nĕl′dă)
Tilly (tĭl′lĭ)
Torgau (tŏr′gow)
Tours (toor)
Tyrol (tĭr′ŏl)
Ulfilas (ŭl′fĭ-lăs)
Urban (ur′băn)
Valkyrie (văl-kī′rē)
Varus (vā′rus)
Vercelli (vĕr-chĕl′lē)
Versailles (vĕr-sālz′ or vair-sī′ĕ)
Wahlstadt (vahl′stădt)
Waiblingen (vī′blĭng-ĕn)
Waldersee (vŏl′dĕr-sē)
Wallenstein (wŏl′ĕn-stīn)
Wartburg (vŏrt′boork)
Weinsberg (vīnz′bĕrk)
Weissenburg (vīs′ĕn-boork)
Welf (vālf)
Westphalia (wĕst-fā′lĭ-ă)
Windthorst (vĭnt′hōrst)
Winkelried (vĭnk′ĕl-rēt)
Wittekind (wĭt′tĕ-kind)
Wittelsbach (vĭt′ĕls-bahk)
Wittenberg (vĭt′ĕn-bĕrk)
Woden (wō′dĕn)
Worms (vōrms)
Worth (vērt *or* French vō-air)
Wurtemberg (vērt′ĕm-bĕrk)
Xanthen (zăn′ten)
Yggdrasil (ĭg′dră-sĭl)
Ymir (ĭm′ĭr)
Ziska (zĭs′kă)
Zulpich (tsuēl′pĭk)



"ONE KINGDOM, ONE PEOPLE, ONE GOD!"

THE ROMANS CROSSING THE DANUBE

MODERN NATIONS—AUSTRIA

Chapter LXX

THE EARLY PAGAN STATES OF THE DANUBE VALLEY

[*Authorities:* Coxe, "House of Austria"; De Worms, "The Austro-Hungarian Empire"; Kay, "Austria-Hungary"; Leger, "Austro-Hungary"; Vehse, "Memoirs of Austria"; Whitman, "Realm of the Hapsburgs," "Austria"; Abbott, "Empire of Austria"; Metternich, "Memoirs"; Robertson, "History of Charles V."; Felberman, "Hungary and its People"; Godkin, "History of Hungary"; Mazuchelli, 'Magyarland"; Vambery, "Hungary"; Lutzow, "Bohemia"; Maurice, "Bohemia"; Laveleye, "The Balkan Peninsula."]

THE Austro-Hungarian Empire is the land of the Danube. This river, the largest and one of the most beautiful of western Europe, flows from the Alps eastward to the Black Sea. Its source is in German territory, but the mountains and hill country which surround most of its upper course constitute Austria. The green and fertile plains which, farther eastward, spread out from its banks and are watered by its tributaries, comprise Hungary. The possession of the great river's mouth is the dream of Austrian statesmen.

It is well to notice this only unity of the land at once, for there is little else to unite the varied and heterogeneous people who make up this peculiar empire. Austro-Hungary differs from all the other great European states in that it is not the home of a single race, fused together, as are the French and the English, by a common language, a united past, and an ambitious future.

Imagine, on the contrary, a land of mingled Germans and Russians, Italians

and Asiatics, each clinging to the language of his race, and struggling for supremacy over his neighbors, upon whom he looks with scorn and often with undisguised hatred. Could any unity be possible for such a land? Or any peace? Or any development? That land is the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

It is divided into two principal domains, which are made politically equal. Austria, the western division, is German. Hungary, the eastern, is the home of an Asian, Tartar people, who still speak their ancient Magyar tongue.

More numerous, however, than either of these dominant races are the Sclavs, who are found everywhere throughout the Empire, though their main seat is in the north, in the ancient kingdom of Bohemia and the lands that were once Polish. Politically the Sclavs are treated rather as inferiors, but they have a literature, a language, and a civilization of their own, to which they cling tenaciously. In addition to all these antagonistic elements, there exists a large sprinkling of people of Italian blood, descendants of the ancient Roman settlers, or of the Venetians, who once held the Austrian land of Dalmatia along the eastern shore of the Adriatic.

You will now understand why nobody is satisfied with this remarkable Empire as it stands to-day. Italy, which has but recently established her own freedom and unity within the Italian peninsula, looks longingly to Dalmatia and the Italian-speaking people of the southeastern Alps. Statesmen and patriots at Rome call these regions "Italia irredenta" (unredeemed), and the yearning for them, if silent, is none the less deep and determined.

Germany considers Austria proper a part of herself, inhabited by her race, and to be reunited some day with her present powerful empire. Russia, the great Sclavic country of our time, favors "Pansclavism." That is to say, she aims to unite all the Sclavs of Bohemia and Poland and other districts, under her own dominion. And amid all these varied aspirations, the Hungarians themselves sigh for their old, more independent, and mightier kingdom.

What is it, you may well ask, that holds together these widely discordant elements? One thing only—the sovereignty of one man. All the districts are ruled in one way or another by the same Emperor, Francis Joseph of Hapsburg-Lorraine; and every one is to a certain extent loyal to that ancient and remarkable house of Hapsburg, which has had so much to do with shaping the course and destinies of Europe.

Let us look back to see what vagaries of fate have tossed together these ill-mated and antagonistic races. In the old days, when Rome was everywhere, she ruled the fertile Danube valley as one of her choicest possessions, one of the granaries whence came the food for her empire. As her strength began to fail, she recalled her legions from the north shore of the Danube, and made that broad and easily defensible stream her frontier line. Along its banks occurred

THE JUDGMENT OF LIBUSSA

the fierce wars with the Marcomanni in the second century; and when at length the Germans overran the Empire, the Danube provinces were those that suffered first and most.

There is a broad and tempting path to draw Asiatic races on to the invasion of Western Europe. From the shores of the Caspian Sea, the grassy plains of southern Russia naturally lure a nomadic people, a nation of flocks and herds, to the westward. They reach the Danube, and wander up its green and pleasant shores into Hungary; thence they invest Italy to the southward, or continue along the river into Germany.

This course has been followed again and again by Tartar tribes. Their first great invasion within the knowledge of history was that which made Attila notorious as the "Scourge of God." In the Danube valley he established the capital of his empire, at Passau, now a city on the Austrian frontier. When at last the remnant of his horde, almost exterminated by foreign and civil war, withdrew into Asia, they left central Europe deserted, its former German inhabitants having moved on to conquer Rome.

Into the delightful home thus vacated there advanced another race, coming from out the vague northland. These were the Sclavs, a dogged, patient, but unwarlike people, who through all changes of time and foreign conquest have clung tenaciously to the land and remained its peasantry, only too often, as their name implies, its *slaves*. But they had their period of glory also. During the fifth and sixth centuries they gradually spread from the Baltic Sea southward to the borders of the Adriatic, occupying almost all the land which is now the Austrian Empire. The centre of their territory was Bohemia, and that was the time and Bohemia the home of the earliest Sclavic legends.

Their chief heroine is Libussa, a beautiful maiden, a prophetess and seer, who ruled over the Bohemians by her wisdom and kindliness. The people grew, however, more turbulent, and Libussa's gentle guidance became ineffectual. Many quarrels arose over the ownership of land, the legends pointing clearly to a time when a nomadic people were beginning to settle down and claim tracts of land as private property. Libussa decided all disputes wisely and justly, but that did not prevent the defeated contestants from becoming rebellious; until at last her people insisted that she should choose a husband, to rule them with a stronger hand.

The gentle prophetess resisted long, but finally yielding, bade her people follow her unmounted steed in its wanderings, until it should lead them to the man destined by Fate to be their king. The horse, being driven forth with a great concourse of people following, led the way to Premysl, a peasant ploughing in the fields. He was with difficulty persuaded to desert his work and accept his kingly office; but at last consenting, he bade his now useless oxen

good-by, whereupon they vanished with the plough. His whip he stuck into the ground, and at once it took root and blossomed into a tree. His laboring shoes, however, he carried with him, that his descendants might never forget the condition from which the race had risen.

The story of Libussa and Premysl cannot be accepted as history, but the rulers of Bohemia for over five hundred years were a race called the Premyslides, and the sandals of their reputed ancestor were preserved as a chief treasure of the state, and presented to each new king as a part of his coronation ceremonial. The very field where Premysl left his plough, is still pointed out in Bohemia, and within the past century a statue has been erected there in honor of the country's first and wisest king.

Another legend, referring to the more southern Sclavs in Carinthia, represents them as installing each new ruler by a somewhat similar ceremony. A peasant stood upon a certain high rock, and as the new prince approached in peasant's garb, he upon the rock demanded who it was that came. The people standing around replied, "The chief of the land." "Is he a just judge?" called out the peasant; and if the assemblage answered yes, there came a second question: "Is he a friend to truth?" When this also had been answered by the approving shout of the people, the peasant struck the prince a blow upon the face, and then yielded him his place of authority.

These tales point to a people of sturdy independence. The Sclavs were not a compact or united race; they spread everywhere in small settlements, possessing little military strength. They never sought conquest, and fought only when driven to it by stern necessity.

They were thus able to offer but feeble resistance to the second tremendous Asiatic invasion, that of the Avars, who occupied Hungary about the year 560, and for over two centuries maintained there a fierce empire of blood and rapine. They ravaged Italy as well as the Sclavic lands, and even extended their plundering expeditions far into Germany among the Franks.

Charlemagne, or rather his son Pepin, defeated the Avars in 796. Franks and Sclavs united against them, and under Pepin's leadership stormed their huge ring forts, slew their warriors, and recovered such masses of plunder as enriched the entire Frankish nation. So completely were the Avars exterminated that to this day there remains an old Sclavic saying for anything that disappears suddenly and completely: "It is gone like the Avars."

Charlemagne also sought Sclavic alliances against his other foes, and thereafter the Frankish emperors claimed a certain vague authority over the eastern lands. This, however, had slight effect on the mass of the scattered Sclavic people; probably most of them never so much as heard of this nominal rule.

With the division of the Frankish Empire in 843, Ludwig the German, who

PREMYSL SUMMONED TO HIS KINGDOM

succeeded to the strictly German part of it, found more leisure to attend to his eastern neighbors. The main Sclavic kingdom of the time was Moravia, the land adjoining Bohemia to the southeast. The Moravian chief, Moimir, was defeated by Ludwig, and Moimir's nephew, Rostislav, was made duke of the land under Germany's lordship. The new duke, however, rebelled in his turn against the foreigners, defeated them in the year 849, and formed a powerful Sclavic state.

By a sort of retributive justice, the Moravian king's nephew, Svatopluk, rebelled in turn against him, as he had against Moimir, and with German aid Rostislav was overthrown. Svatopluk then turned against his foreign allies, betrayed their entire army to massacre at the hands of his countrymen, and became king of a Sclavic power, which seems for the first time to have united almost all of that race in central Europe. The capital of Svatopluk's powerful kingdom was the ancient Moravian city of Nitra. His domains extended from Magdeburg on the Elbe almost to the Adriatic, and he more than held his own against his German foes.

It was during these wars that Christianity began to extend among the Sclavic tribes. It first came to them through German hands, as the religion of their oppressors; and it therefore made small progress, until Rostislav invited the Eastern Church at Byzantine to send him missionaries.

Thus the famous apostles of the Sclavs, St. Methodius and St. Cyril, appear in the story. Methodius had already begun work among the eastern tribes in Bulgaria. He had been invited there as an artist, and was commanded by the Bulgarian king to paint a picture which should strike terror into all beholders. Obeying, he painted the "Last Judgment of Souls." The impressive scene roused the wonder and awe of the Bulgarians, and his explanations of it led them to adopt his faith.

For his work under Rostislav in Moravia, Methodius brought with him his brother, the learned Cyril. The Sclavic tongue had as yet no alphabet nor written form, and Cyril invented these and translated the Bible into the new language. The Germans held their religious services in Latin, but the faith came to the Sclavic converts in a guise specially prepared for them, with their own words and litany. Thus, instead of uniting them with the Germans, their new religion became a still further point of division between the two, the Germans constantly endeavoring to force the Latin litany upon all their subjects.

In Svatopluk's time, Carinthia, the nearest of the German provinces, was ruled by Duke Arnulf, who afterward became Emperor of the Franks (889). Both as Duke and Emperor, Arnulf warred against Svatopluk, but was more than once defeated. At length he summoned a new race, the Hungarians, to his aid.

The Hungarians,* or Magyars as they call themselves, formed the third great Asian migration. About the year 884, they began coming up the Danube and pouring over the Carpathian Mountains, which form modern Hungary's eastern border. Seven Magyar chiefs had formed a union, and each drawing blood from his own arm gave it to the others to drink, swearing to be true to his own blood in the others' bodies. They made the oldest and wisest of the seven their chief, and, with we know not how many thousands upon thousands of followers, set out upon their search for new homes. Legend tells us that the hordes were so enormous as to take over two years to file through the passes of the Carpathian Mountains.

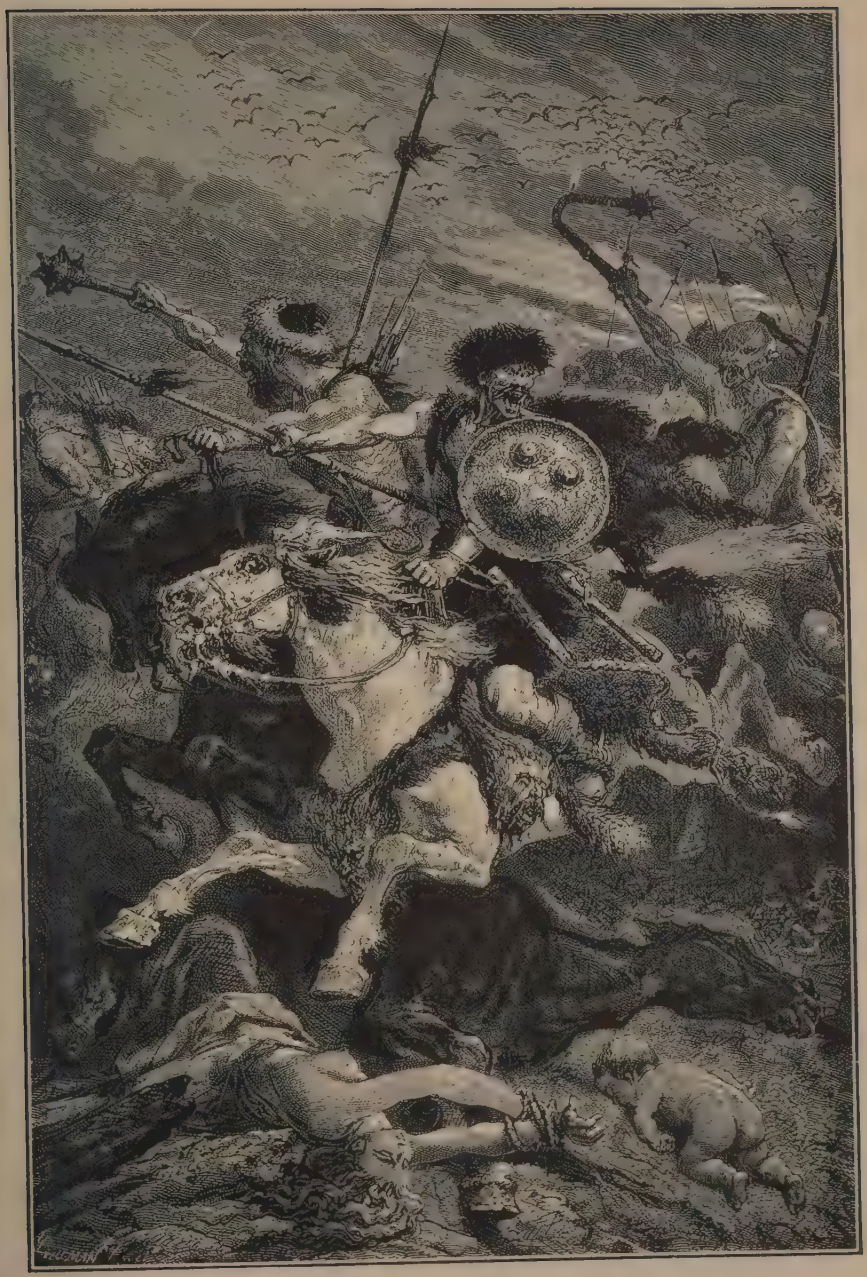
Under their leader Arpad, they easily dispersed the scattered Sclavic tribes along the frontier and drove them back upon Moravia, the strong central kingdom of their race, under Svatopluk. Here the Hungarians were disastrously repulsed in 892, but in 894 they returned and in alliance with Arnulf completely defeated the Sclavs.

Svatopluk was slain, or, according to Moravian legend, was stricken with despair and remorse for the long-past crimes of his youth against his uncle, and fled secretly from the camp of his followers. Burying his crown and destroying his royal robes, he appeared as a grimy beggar before some old hermits, and sought permission to share their holy life. Here he remained unsuspected for many years, until upon his deathbed he confessed himself to his companions. His son, Moimir II., had meanwhile fallen in battle against the Hungarians, and his nation had been dispersed; so the ancient hermits interred their comrade's body, the only relic of his once mighty realm, with the inscription: "Here lies Svatopluk, the last king of the Moravians, buried in the centre of his kingdom."

The destruction of Moravia left Bohemia once more the main Sclavic state. Bohemia, as you can see upon the map, is enclosed on all sides by high mountains. Behind the protection of these natural ramparts, the people succeeded in repelling the incursions of the Magyars, who, like previous Asian nations, had established themselves permanently in the attractive Danube valley.

The German Emperor found sore cause to repent having called them to his aid, for they proved far more dangerous neighbors than Svatopluk and his Sclavs had ever been. Not only did they ravage the Carinthian dukedom; from there they extended their inroads south into Italy and northward into Germany. Bavaria, the nearest German land, was utterly laid waste. The districts beyond were plundered, even to the farther banks of the Rhine in Gaul. No part of the land was safe from the rapidly moving marauders. They were

* *Hungarians* is the name the Germans gave them under the impression that they were descendants of Attila's Huns, or perhaps from the word *Hune*, which means a stranger.



THE HUNS ENTERING MORAVIA

looked upon as Attila's followers had been. The "Hunnish terror" spread once more over Europe, and armies fled before their approach.

The Hungarian method of warfare was the ancient Asian one of speed and craft, with which Persians, Parthians, Arabs, Turks, and Tartars so often measured themselves against European strength, a warfare consisting of flights of arrows, sudden swift charges of marvellous horsemen, feigned retreats to disorder the ranks of the pursuers, and secret ambuscades, from which they burst with sudden savage yells upon the unsuspecting foe. The Germans, bewildered by their wiles, were like children before them.

The first quarter of the tenth century saw the zenith of the Magyars' power. Arpad, the great chief who had led them into Hungary, died in 907; but his son Zoltan, a fourteen-year-old boy, commanded his people almost equally well. The two successors of Arnulf on the German throne, Ludwig the Child and Conrad of Franconia, both died struggling unavailingly to beat back the invaders. One German duke after another gathered his people against the Magyars, only to be defeated and slain. The great Henry the City-Builder, failing in battle against them, paid them tribute during nine years.

The story of Germany has told you how this Emperor, Henry the City-Builder, finally broke the power of his dangerous foes. This achievement constitutes his chief claim to fame. He trained his people to fight as knights upon horseback; he built walled cities for protection against the sudden invasions. Then, all being prepared, he insulted the Hungarian ambassadors with his tribute of a mangy dog, and in the war that followed, utterly overthrew their army at Merseburg in 933.

A generation later, their strength being recruited, the Magyars essayed again to conquer Germany, but were defeated by Otto the Great at the river Lech in 955. Europe had once more learned how to repel the Asian style of attack. If the horses of the Asiatics were slain, or if they were met with horsemanship of equal skill, they were no match for the heavier Europeans. The Magyars, turning from Germany to seek an easier prey, were defeated also by the Byzantine Emperor in 970 at Arcadianople.

By this time the Magyars had lost much of their Asian character. The thousands of captives, Sclav, German, and Italian, whom they had brought home from their forays in all parts of central Europe, had essentially modified the type of the race. The high cheek bones and slanting eyes began to disappear. Something of the innate ferocity of the race was gone too; they began to appreciate the blessings of peace and civilization, and to imitate the culture of the European states around them.

Their chief, or Duke as he was called, Geyza (972–997), determined to foster these new ambitions of his people. He refrained from foreign inroads,

checked the awful waste of life which these caused among the Magyars, and thus doubtless saved them from bringing ruin and extinction upon themselves, as had the earlier races of Asian invaders.

One of the first steps of this new civilizing process in Hungary was the introduction of Christianity. Duke Geyza himself became a sort of half convert, mingling pagan and Christian ceremonies in his worship with easy impartiality, and encouraging the presence of missionaries among his people. Chief of these preachers was St. Adalbert of Prague, who, coming from the neighboring Sclavic kingdom of Bohemia, preached with such success that Duke Geyza's own son and successor, Stephen, became a Christian.

This son, the celebrated St. Stephen of Hungary, was baptized in 994, and, succeeding to his father's authority in 997, he began at once a vigorous conversion of the entire land. Force was used where necessary, and after crushing one or two pagan uprisings, Stephen was able to send the proud message of an enthusiast to the Pope at Rome that Hungary was now a Christian kingdom, and that he, as its ruler, hastened to lay all its power and his authority at the feet of the Pope.

Naturally the Pope received the message with joy. Every honor within the power of the Church was conferred upon Stephen. The kingdom which he had proffered to the Pope was given back to him as a faithful disciple of the Church. The title of King of Hungary was conferred upon him, and in view of his labors as an apostle for the faith he and his successors were authorized to call themselves the Apostolic Kings. That is why you may see to-day in the list of titles of the Austro-Hungarian Emperor that of Apostolic Majesty.

The formal coronation of Stephen by the papal legate took place August 15 of the year 1000. The Pope sent for the occasion a specially consecrated crown, and this ancient symbol is still preserved as the most precious treasure of the Hungarian state. Above its rim are two bands forming a cross, surmounted by a ball and another cross, whence it is called the crown of the double cross.

St. Stephen proved a strong and wise king, using Christianity to civilize his people, and adapting to their needs whatever he found best of the new faith. He is the hero and patron saint of the Hungarians, reverenced by them as the second founder of their nation, Arpad being the first. With Stephen's papal coronation, we may regard heathenism as coming to an end in the Danube valley. A new period of Christianity and civilization begins; though in truth the religion was as yet somewhat perfunctory, and the culture not far removed from barbarism.

RUDOLF OF HAPSBURG TAKING POSSESSION OF AUSTRIA

ZISKA LEADING THE HUSSITES

Chapter LXXI

THE RISE OF AUSTRIA

IN the year 1000 there were several small states within the present limits of Austro-Hungary. Of these Hungary and Bohemia were the chief, though there were other Sclavic and Romance states, including Transsylvania and Servia to the east, and Croatia to the south.

In the west, the Germans from Bavaria were extending their colonies everywhere through the Alpine highlands, and on toward the Hungarian plain. Sometimes these little Germanic provinces were separate, sometimes united under a single ruler. Austria, destined one day to rule them all, lay on the extreme frontier.

Its name was originally the Oestmark, which means "Eastmark" or east boundary. It was probably founded by Charlemagne about the year 796, as a military settlement for protection against the Avars. The Hungarians, however, utterly destroyed it, and it was not re-established until after their overthrow by the Emperor Otto the Great in 955.

In 973 Otto II. placed the new Oestmark in the hands of Leopold of Babenberg, a noted military chief, and Leopold made his province a formidable barrier against the Magyars. So rapidly did it grow in importance that in the year 996 we find it referred to in one of the old manuscripts, not as the Eastmark, but as the East-kingdom or "Oesterreich," a name thereafter always attached to it, and of which our word Austria is merely the English form.

The Babenberg rulers of Austria did not as yet take rank among the great dukes of the German Empire, but in 1156 one of their race, Henry "Jasomirgott," was made a duke by the Emperor Barbarossa, and Austria became a duchy, hereditary in the family. Gradually, under these able rulers, Austria advanced in power, until the last of its Babenberg dukes, Frederick the Warlike, fell in strife against the Hungarians, leaving no direct heir.

His grand-nephew, Frederick of Baden, claimed the succession to the duchy. Being young and enthusiastic, he also championed the cause of the "last of the Hohenstaufens," the heroic and unfortunate lad, Conradin. Together the two boys—Conradin was but sixteen, and Frederick himself only nineteen—made their rash invasion of Italy to conquer an empire, and together they perished on the scaffold at Naples in 1268.

This was during the desolate period of the Great Interregnum in Germany, and Frederick's abandoned duchy lay temptingly open to any man who had the wit and strength to seize it. The one who best could, and who did, take possession was Ottocar II., the able and powerful Sclavic king of Bohemia.

Ottocar was of the ancient race of the Premyslides, who had been rulers of Bohemia for five centuries or more. Sometimes they had been independent sovereigns, sometimes nominally subject to the German Empire. They had been made dukes and electors of the Empire as far back as the year 1024, and in 1157 Barbarossa conferred on them the hereditary title of King. Their importance steadily grew, until Ottocar II. became the most powerful of the race, his sway extending from the Adriatic to the Baltic. He led a crusade of Sclavs and Germans against the heathen Prussians in the north, and established there the city named from him Koenigsberg, the "king's city," which, by an odd turn of fortune's wheel, was to become another "king's city," the place of coronation for the Prussian sovereigns.

At a later period Ottocar completely defeated the Hungarians, and arranged for his own ultimate succession to their throne. He was, in fact, regarded as the greatest monarch of his time. The Hungarians called him the "Iron King," from the number of steel-clad knights he led to battle; while to the Germans he was the "Golden King," from the wealth and splendor of his court.

He was twice offered the position of Emperor of Germany. His brother electors even sent a delegation begging him to accept the honor, but he refused. Perhaps he had larger dreams, of a great Sclavic kingdom dominating Germany. At any rate, he adopted a sort of dog-in-the-manger policy, and though he had refused the imperial office himself, he protested most vigorously when it was conferred upon Rudolf of Hapsburg, a "poor count" who had once fought in his armies.

THE PRAYER OF THE SWISS AT SEMPACH

The contest between Ottocar and Rudolf has been already detailed in the story of Germany. Ottocar was defeated at last and slain, and the dream of a vast Sclavic empire vanished. Rudolf assumed the right to dispose of the Bohemian domains as he pleased. He wedded his daughter to Ottocar's son Vacslav or Wenzel, though both of the children were under ten years of age. Wenzel was placed upon his ancestors' throne in Bohemia. Austria, however, and the rest of Ottocar's dominions were governed for a time by Rudolf himself, and then conferred upon his son Albert, as Duke of Austria.

It was Rudolf who thus established his family of the Hapsburgs in Austria. He ranks among the great leaders of history, a man of keen purpose and indomitable strength. So rapid had been his rise from poverty and obscurity that his first mighty antagonist, the Bishop of Salzburg, cried out in his astonishment and chagrin: "Lord God, sit fast upon Thy throne, or Rudolf will have that, too!"

Rudolf was, however, devoutly religious, and introduced into his family that staunch adherence to Catholicism which has always marked the Hapsburgs. At his coronation he took the crucifix from the cathedral altar, and declared he would rule by that rather than by the sword. He managed to combine the authority of both, and on his death his son Albert succeeded unquestioned to the vast domains Rudolf had secured to the family.

Albert was not made emperor until 1298. Unlike his father, he was harsh and overbearing, and men feared and distrusted him. He quarrelled with his brother-in-law Wenzel of Bohemia, and received rather the worst of it. Wenzel died soon after, under suspicious circumstances, and his son Wenzel III. was assassinated in 1306. With him perished the ancient dynasty of the Premyslides.

The Bohemian nobles claimed the right to elect a successor to their vacant throne, and the Emperor Albert admitted their right, but arrogantly advised them to choose his son Rudolf. As the advice was backed by Albert's own presence and that of a powerful army, Rudolf was chosen. He died a few months later, and the Emperor sought to force his second son upon the Bohemians. This time, however, the assembly broke into open revolt and slew two of his most insistent partisans, crying: "We will have no more Austrians." At the same time the overbearing Emperor became involved in a quarrel with his Swiss subjects. While marching to subdue them he was slain by his own nephew, the Parricide.

With Albert's death, the fortunes of the house of Hapsburg somewhat faded. His son, Frederick the Handsome, sought to succeed him as Emperor of Germany, but failed to win the coveted honor. Switzerland also began her struggle for independence against the Hapsburgs, defeating them at Morgarten, and

then even more disastrously at Sempach. The Swiss, convinced of the righteousness of their cause, began battle at Sempach by kneeling in prayer. "See," said the Austrian duke, "they kneel for mercy!" "But it is to God, not to your highness," answered his counsellors. The Swiss were never to kneel to Austria again.

Bohemia, too, passed wholly out of the Hapsburg grasp, its nobles electing as their king John, son of the German Emperor Henry VII. of Luxemburg. Thus the house of Luxemburg became kings of Bohemia, and that state was drawn into the vortex of German affairs. One of its Luxemburg kings became Emperor of Germany as Charles IV.

Charles is among the most prominent figures in Bohemian history. He was of Sclavic blood on his mother's side, and was much beloved by his Sclavic subjects and very just toward them. You may remember that the Germans called him "the father of Bohemia and the step-father of the empire." Under him the Bohemian capital of Prague became a great centre of European art and culture; the University of Prague was founded, and Sclavic literature encouraged. Charles' eldest son was the bloody Bohemian tyrant, Wenzel. Sigismund, the second son of Charles and afterward emperor, was chosen King of Hungary in 1387.

The Hungarians had willingly elected Sigismund in the hope that he would bring to their relief the power of the German Empire, for poor Hungary was in sore need of help. Another Asian race, the Turks, were pressing up the Danube valley, even as the Hungarians themselves had done. These Turks, held back for a time in their career of conquest by the crusades, were now threatening to conquer Europe. The Hungarians, who had grown thoroughly European and Christian in feeling, stood as the bulwark of civilization against the Turkish hordes.

Their heroic struggle lasted for centuries. Sometimes with Sclavic and German help, sometimes alone, often crushed to the dust, but always rising again in desperate defiance, they have made their entire history one long glowing tale of valiant and glorious warfare for liberty.

Up to Sigismund's time, Hungary was very successful against the Turks. Its ancient line of sovereigns of the race of Arpad died out in 1301; but the elected Italian king, Louis of Anjou (1342–1382), one of the greatest of Hungary's rulers, had been everywhere victorious both in peace and in war. Of him it was said, that he never met a defeat. It was he who won Dalmatia from Venice, and thus extended Hungary to the Adriatic sea. He could have been Emperor of Germany, but he declined the honor, saying that he found one kingdom more than he could govern well. Under him the Hungarian capital at Buda became the rival of the Bohemian Prague as a centre of European power

MARY OF HUNGARY RESCUED BY THE VENETIANS

and culture. But Louis the Great died in 1382, and left no son to succeed him.

His daughter Mary could not hold her own against the many warlike aspirants to the throne. One foreign king was crowned in her very presence, despite her sobs and prayers; a month later her adherents struck down the new king at her feet with their battle-axes. She and her mother were attacked while on a journey; their bodyguard and chief nobles fell, fighting to the last about the royal carriage; the two queens were shut in a prison, and Mary's mother, the widow of Louis the Great, was strangled before her daughter's eyes.

To quell the utter anarchy of the land, Sigismund, who was Mary's husband, was almost unanimously elected king. Thus, for the first time, a German sat upon the throne of Hungary. Sigismund reduced the turbulent nobles to order; the Venetians came to his help, and their captain, John Barberigo, rescued Mary from her prison and restored her to her husband.

Sigismund then raised an army to repel the Turkish invaders. His cause was preached as a holy war throughout Europe, and many crusaders marched under his banner against the Mahometan Turks. Sigismund advanced down the Danube toward Constantinople in 1396, but the Turks under their great Sultan Bajazet "the Lightning" intercepted him at Nicopolis. His French allies at once attacked the infidels with great fury, scattered the lighter Turkish skirmishers in front, and, riding on in reckless triumph, found themselves suddenly face to face with the unyielding line of the terrible Turkish "Janissaries." The Frenchmen, exhausted by their headlong charge, fought bravely, but were slain almost to the last man. The Janissaries pressed steadily on over the dead bodies as if nothing had happened, and the remainder of the crusading army fled in terror before them.

Sigismund himself, despairing and disgraced, barely escaped capture. His assailants had almost laid hands upon his bridle rein, when his brave bodyguard closed round him and plunged with their horses into the Danube. Sigismund escaped to a boat, and thus down the river to its mouth, and finally by a long circuit reached Germany.

All Hungary seemed open to the Turkish bands. Sigismund, despairing, kept out of the land, and the abandoned Magyars defended themselves as best they could. An important Asian war, however, drew off the Turkish forces, the distracted land found a moment's breathing space, and Sigismund was left free to play his larger part in German affairs.

He was, as you will recall, elected Emperor of Germany in 1410, held the Council of Constance in 1414, condemned the Bohemian reformer Huss to execution, and thus incited the Hussite wars. In these it was proved conclusively that the Bohemian Sclavs could fight bravely if sufficiently roused to it.

Their untrained peasantry beat back one German army after another. They invaded the German lands and laid them waste; and since their enemy Sigismund was King of Hungary as well, they also swept over that unhappy land with fire and sword. What between Turks and Bohemians attacking them upon either side, and equally without cause, the Hungarians were wellnigh in despair.

The Bohemians, unconquerable from without, fell at last to quarrelling among themselves, and accepted Sigismund as their king, the successor to his brother Wenzel. Thus, despite selfishness, incapacity, and failure, Sigismund finally united under his single rule Hungary, Bohemia, and the German Empire.

Having no son to whom to leave his vast possessions, the Emperor now looked round for the fittest heir upon whom to confer his daughter and his domains. He selected as the most powerful and trustworthy of his nobles, Duke Albert of Austria, great-grandson of the former Hapsburg Emperor, Albert I. There had been much trouble between Sigismund and the Hapsburgs at the Council of Constance. He was openly defied by Duke Frederick of Austria, called "Frederick of the empty pocket," because of his perennial lack of money.

In his quarrel with Sigismund Frederick was defeated, and compelled to come to Constance and fall at the Emperor's feet, suing for mercy. The boastful Sigismund could not let so good an opportunity pass. "You, whose country is next to the Austrians," he said to the Italian churchmen around him, "you know how mighty is a Duke of Austria. Judge from what you see how all-powerful is an Emperor of Germany."

Frederick was forgiven, and it was his son Albert who was chosen to wed Sigismund's daughter and become his heir. Albert had already proved himself a wise and kindly ruler. Austria was happy and prosperous under his guidance, so both Bohemia and Hungary agreed, not unwillingly perhaps, that he should succeed his father-in-law.

Thus on Sigismund's death, in 1437, Albert of Austria was not only elected Emperor of Germany, but became by inheritance ruler of all the lands of the Danube valley. Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary were for the first time united to form, as they do to-day, the princely domains of the Hapsburg family.

TURKISH ARMS

THE ESCAPE OF KING SIGISMUND

BATTLE OF MOUNT ST. GOTTHARD

Chapter LXXII

WARS WITH THE TURKS

THE first union of Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia was soon broken. As if such power and splendor were too much to be borne by one man, Albert of Austria died within a year of his accession, while warring against the Turks. A plague desolated both of the opposing armies, and each withdrew from before the foe in helpless misery. Albert himself was stricken with the disease. "Let me but get back to Vienna," he said, "to my wife and little ones, and I shall be well." But a higher Power had willed otherwise, and he died upon the road. He was called "the Magnanimous," and of him even the bitter Bohemian chroniclers record that "he was good, for a German."

As Emperor of Germany, Albert was succeeded by his cousin, Frederick of Hapsburg, the lazy and impotent Emperor Frederick III. In Bohemia, Albert's baby son, Ladislaus, born after the father's death, was elected king; but he died young, and then Bohemia chose a Hussite king, George Podiebrad, from among its own noblemen.

Hungary also separated itself from the Hapsburgs, though Albert's queen made a desperate effort to keep its throne for her unborn child. The Hungarians attached an almost superstitious reverence to the ancient crown of St. Stephen. So the queen sent one of her ladies, the Countess Helen Kottanner, to steal the crown and thus preserve it for her son. After many exciting and romantic adventures, the Countess Helen did secure the crown and brought it

to the queen on the very day that the baby, Ladislaus, was born. We can imagine with what fond haste he was hurried to his crowning by the women who had devoted their lives to his. Yet the romantic plot failed for the time, the Hungarians refusing to be governed by a child, and electing in his stead another Ladislaus, or Uladislaw, King of Poland.

The real Hungarian ruler, however, was Hunyadi Janos.* We have no space to tell of all the wonderful achievements of this greatest of Hungarian heroes. His origin is unknown, though one legend represents him as a natural son of the Emperor Sigismund and a Magyar countess. He appears suddenly as a leader of the Hungarians against the Turks. In the very hour when his country was prostrate and seemingly helpless, he rescued her and restored her to prosperity and honor. The Turkish armies sent against him outnumbered his little forces often ten to one, but by superb generalship and the resistless fire of patriotism with which he inspired his followers, he repeatedly swept the invaders from his land. He became invader in his turn, until in the end the humiliated Turks sued for peace upon almost any terms.

Hunyadi consented to the proposed treaty; but at once all Christian Europe joined in protest, declaring that the fortunate time had come to crush the Mahometan power forever. Rulers promised men and money to help the Hungarians in a Turkish crusade, and the feeble Hungarian king, Uladislaw, in spite of Hunyadi's remonstrances, renewed the war.

Disaster followed. The European allies failed to appear, and with only thirty thousand men Hunyadi and Uladislaw met over one hundred thousand Turks at Varna in Albania (1444). Hunyadi's military genius and the reckless valor of his horsemen were for a time resistless. The Turkish general was slain, and his cavalry driven in headlong flight. At the last critical moment, Uladislaw, jealous of his great chieftain, and eager to share the glory of victory disobeyed Hunyadi's express directions and with his Polish bodyguard charged the enemy. Unluckily, he chose for his ill-considered attack the Janissaries themselves, the flower of the Turkish forces. He was slain with almost all his men. Hunyadi, plunging to his rescue, was lost to sight in the mêlée. The king's head was hoisted by the Janissaries on a spear for all to see, and the bewildered Hungarians scattered in flight. Yet the Sultan, surveying the thousands of slaughtered Turks upon the field, could not but exclaim in sorrow: "I wish only to my enemies such a victory as this!"

Hunyadi was made "governor" of Hungary, and once more rallied the people. In place of their dead king Uladislaw, they elected the boy Ladislaus of Austria, who had been already invested with their stolen crown. Unfortu-

*Janos is the Magyar form of John. The Hungarians place the family name first. Hence in English, John Hunniades.

HELEN KOTTANNER STEALING THE HUNGARIAN CROWN

nately the German advisers of the new king persuaded him to distrust Hunyadi, and he never acted in cordial harmony with his great general.

The Turkish Sultan, Mahomet II., conquered Constantinople in 1453, and, having thus destroyed the last vestige of the ancient Empire of the East, was free to turn his whole force against Hungary. He made a solemn vow to capture the city and fortress of Belgrade, the frontier defence of Hungary upon the Danube; and in 1456 he appeared before it with one hundred and fifty thousand men. Hunyadi, by the utmost exertions, could raise from his exhausted country only about fifteen thousand volunteers. The King and court gave him no aid. An Italian monk, however, John Capistran, entered the land, and preached with such fiery eloquence that an army of over fifty thousand crusaders was raised from among the peasantry. These Capistran placed under Hunyadi's command, and, though they were armed with only peasants' weapons, scythes and axes, their intense fanaticism made them the most efficient of troops.

Hunyadi gathered them on small vessels and rafts, and attacked the fleet of the Turks on the Danube. The huge, unwieldy men-of-war were burned or put to flight, and after a desperate struggle the Hungarians won their way into beleaguered Belgrade. The furious Turks, who had believed such a feat impossible, made a reckless assault upon the fortress, but were repulsed; and Hunyadi, pursuing his advantage, charged upon their camp. John Capistran rode at the head of the crusaders, bearing aloft a crucifix. Impetuously following their two leaders, the Hungarians swept the Turks like chaff from the field. Forty thousand of the Mahometans were slain, and three hundred cannons captured, with all the munitions of war.

For the time, at least, the power of the Turks was broken, and not for sixty years did they again threaten Belgrade. But the life of Hunyadi was near its close. Either from wounds, fever, or exhaustion, he died soon after this, his greatest battle. King Ladislaus promptly quarrelled with the hero's two sons. The elder was imprisoned and slain. Hunyadi himself was proclaimed to have been a crafty traitor. King Ladislaus died only a few days after his youthful victim, and the whole country, rising in its wrath, proclaimed Matthias, Hunyadi's surviving son, king of Hungary.

Matthias (1458–1490), though under twenty when thus summoned to the throne, proved a warrior second only to his mighty father. He turned his arms against the Bohemians, and avenged the Hussite invasions of Hungary by well-nigh conquering Bohemia, and wrenching from it the ancient province of Moravia. He repeatedly defeated the Turks, and finally, quarrelling with the feeble German Emperor Frederick, he completely conquered Austria and attached Vienna itself to his dominions (1485).

There was a wild love of adventure in this Magyar chieftain, Matthias.

Nothing pleased him better than to match his strength against that of others. He was constantly engaging in tournaments with his knights, and woe to the courtier whom the King suspected of purposely yielding to him. A trial of wits was equally attractive to him, and in war he was his own most accomplished spy.

Once, disguised as a Mahometan peddler, he penetrated to the very heart of the Turkish camp, and stood all day by the Sultan's tent, pretending to sell his wares. Escaping in the night to his own army, he sent back word to the Sultan: "You are ill-served and worse guarded. I know everything you do. Yesterday I watched you all day with my own eyes; and to prove it, I will tell you just what you ate"—which he did. The Turkish monarch, astounded and suspicious, broke up his camp and retreated with all his army.

Matthias seemed influenced in all things by this love of display. With his wealth and successes, he made his Hungarian court the most brilliant of the period in Europe. At the very time when the poor Hapsburg Emperor Frederick, driven from Vienna, was wandering in an oxcart from one impoverished little German court to another, Matthias was struggling to expend an income of two million florins ($800,000), which was double the annual treasure of the King of France, the next wealthiest of European sovereigns. The Hungarian King dictated as his own proud epitaph: "A conquered Austria evidences my power. I was the fear of all the world. The Emperor of the Germans and the Emperor of the Turks both shrank before me. Death alone could conquer me."

A renown which seems to our days better worth the having, came to Matthias through his justice. For instance, he had conquered Austria only because Frederick evaded the terms of a treaty with him. And he always professed himself ready to restore the Emperor's possessions if the terms of the treaty were fulfilled. These included, however, the payment to Matthias of a sum of money far greater than the unhappy Frederick was able ever to raise; and thus his lands continued unransomed.

It was to his own subjects that Matthias showed the best side of his character. Remembering always that his race had sprung from the people, he sought in every way to govern for their good, and a Magyar saying still echoes his name:

"Now Matthias is dead,
Justice is fled."

His reign attracts our special attention, because it marked the utmost splendor of the Hungarian kingdom. With his death, the country plunged into a decline from which it has not yet recovered. He left no legitimate heir; and as usual, the various claimants to the throne disrupted the land with civil war.

Ladislaus of Bohemia was finally acknowledged king, being chosen apparently, as so many of the German emperors were, because he seemed the weakest

HUNYADI AND CAPISTRAN LEADING THE ASSAULT AT BELGRADE

candidate, and not likely to interfere with the pleasures of the nobles who placed him upon the throne. He allowed the Austrians under Maximilian to regain Vienna without a battle.

During his reign occurred a terrible peasant insurrection, in which thousands of the nobles lost their lives. At length, however, the great lords uniting crushed the rebels, and new laws were passed which punished the peasantry with frightful severity. Thenceforward the lower classes, Sclavic and partly Hungarian, were made mere slaves. The nobles boasted that Hungary was a free country, but they kept all the freedom for themselves.

Louis, the young son of Ladislaus, succeeded him both in Bohemia and Hungary. By this time the two countries had fallen completely into the power of their great nobles, who with open indifference robbed the boy king of almost all his revenues, and even descended to fisticuffs in his presence. So low had the dignity of the royal position sunk, that most of the barons of Louis lived better and had more money than he. One ambassador wrote home that the young king sat upon his throne in a pair of worn and broken shoes. He could not even pay the bills for his food, a misfortune which the lad doubtless regarded as especially serious, since when he could afford it he was in the habit of luxuriating on seven meals a day.

The Turks, again assailing the country, found now no Hunyadi to oppose them, no free peasantry to rise in a crusade against them. One frontier fortress after another fell into the invaders' hands, including Belgrade itself. Encouraged by their success, they began advancing toward the heart of the kingdom. Louis by a desperate effort gathered a small army, with which he endeavored to hurl back the intruders at Mohacs (August 29, 1526). He was slain and his troops were scattered.

The battle marks the downfall of the Magyar power. The land was desolated by plunder and massacre, and two weeks later the victorious Mahometans entered Buda, the country's capital. The greater part of Hungary became a Turkish province, and remained more or less under Turkish control for nearly two hundred years.

As Hungary sank, Austria rose. The Hapsburgs had been vastly increasing their importance. Frederick III. proved, indeed, but a feeble Emperor of Germany, but he procured for his son Maximilian that fortunate marriage with Mary, the heiress of Burgundy, which added so much to the Hapsburg power. At this time originated the celebrated epigram:

"Bella gerant alii, tu felix Austria nube;
Nam quæ Mars aliis, dat tibi regna Venus."*

* Let others war; thou lucky Austria, wed.
What Mars gives them, Venus transfers to thee.

Maximilian's son wedded Joanna of Spain, and brought that country also under the Hapsburgs.

The story of this remarkable family, as regards their position as emperors of Germany, has been already told. We need now to recount only their rule over the eastern lands which their descendants hold to-day. One of Maximilian's grandsons, Charles V., became Emperor of Germany. The other, Ferdinand, was wedded to Anna, daughter of King Ladislaus of Bohemia and Hungary. They were both children, as were also another pair united at the same brilliant ceremonial, Maximilian's granddaughter Mary, and Ladislaus' son Louis, the feeble victim of the battle of Mohacs.

The misfortunes of other lands became thus the good luck of the Hapsburgs. After Mohacs, Ferdinand was the nearest heir to Louis' throne, through his wife Anna and also through his sister, Louis' widow. The Bohemians readily elected Ferdinand to their vacant sovereignty. So also did a party of the Hungarians, and thus once more the three crowns of Austria, Bohemia, and what remained of Hungary were united upon one head, that of the Hapsburgs. The union has not since been broken.

Thus from 1526 the story of the three lands becomes more nearly the story of one. Both Bohemia and Hungary leaned strongly toward Protestantism, and Ferdinand, in assuming their government, guaranteed to each country a certain amount of religious freedom. His successors by degrees withdrew this, amid much jangling and bitter quarrels. In Bohemia the dispute culminated in 1618 in the Thirty Years' War, the extermination of Protestantism, and the ruin of the country, which sank to be what, until very lately, it remained, a mere province of Austria. It lost all independent existence or government of its own, and became the most backward and down-trodden land of Western Europe.

In Hungary the main interest continued to be the warfare with the Turks, into which Austria was now perforce drawn in her own defence. The eastern Hungarians acknowledged themselves vassals of Turkey, and set up a king of their own under the Sultan's protection, while that monarch, not satisfied with his conquest of Buda, pressed on into western Hungary, and was soon upon the Austrian border. Vienna itself had to endure the first of its sieges by the Turks (1529).

The swords of the Mahometans were thus hewing a path farther and farther into central Europe. Constantinople, Belgrade, Buda, and now Vienna marked the advancing steps of their fierce and barbaric hordes. The first Vienna siege was abandoned because of the severity of the approaching winter, to which the Turks were ill-accustomed. But in 1532 the Sultan Solyman, mightiest of the Mahometan rulers, returned with an army said to have numbered three hundred

BETROTHAL OF MAXIMILIAN TO MARY OF BURGUNDY

thousand men. The scattered Hungarian fortresses yielded to him, one after another, and he advanced along a trail of blood and flame.

The Emperor Ferdinand hastened to gather troops for the defence of his capital. The little detachments were summoned in from outlying posts. One alone refused to retreat. Juricsics, the Hungarian commander of the fortress of Guntz on the frontier between Austria and Hungary, had under him about forty soldiers. He gathered also some seven hundred peasants, armed them at his own expense, and defied the entire forces of Solyman.

For four weeks those hundreds of thousands of soldiers besieged the unyielding fortress. Their great cannons battered it to pieces, its defenders dwindled away, but still the defiant Juricsics refused to surrender. The piles of ruin formed in themselves a bulwark from which the charging Turks were repelled again and again. At Vienna the gathering Austrian army grew ever larger, and the position of the Sultan Solyman was becoming dangerous.

At last Juricsics, on the entreaty of his exhausted men, consented to display a Turkish flag on the battlements. It does not appear that a single Turkish soldier entered the walls, but the flag was enough. "Guntz is conquered," said the Sultan, pointing to the floating banner. "Behold, I am indeed invincible! Let us return home out of this miserable country."

A similar experience awaited him in 1566. He again set out to conquer Vienna, but was detained before the town and second-rate fortress of Szigeth, in Croatia, which the Hungarian chief Zrinyi defended with twenty-five hundred men. The town was surrounded by a lake, from which the Turks drained off the waters. Szigeth, however, continued to resist their assaults, until the outer town was destroyed by fire. Then Zrinyi and his surviving heroes retreated within the fortress, and defended it with the same consummate bravery. Already, weeks of valuable time had been lost by the Turks. The aged Solyman appeared in person among his Janissaries to urge them to the assault, but in vain. He attempted to bribe Zrinyi with magnificent offers, promising to make him prince of Croatia and Dalmatia. Threats were also tried, but equally without result.

At length a Turkish mine shattered the towers of Szigeth to the dust, and Zrinyi, clothing himself in his richest robes and filling his pockets with treasures, "so that his corpse should be worth the finding," set fire to his possessions and charged out of the castle with his devoted followers. They were all slain. The Hungarian women would, if permitted, have rushed to death with their husbands, and when the Turks penetrated to the ammunition magazine in the heart of the ruins, the Countess Zrinyi exploded the powder and brought three thousand infidels with her to death.

In all, some thirty thousand of their army perished during the siege. Soly-

man himself did not live to rejoice in his triumph; he had died in a fit of passion a few days before the final assault. The Turkish Vizier, not daring to reveal this to his troops, set their master's corpse upright upon a throne and had the army parade before the body in review, though at a distance. Only after the fall of Szigeth did the Vizier confess the great Sultan's death, whereon the Turkish army retreated. Once more Vienna had been saved by the desperate valor of a little Magyar band.

By such deeds of unsupported heroism did the Hungarians make themselves famous. Their Austrian sovereigns gave them no support. Even Szigeth itself might have been saved had the Germans cared to come to its relief. The Magyars had elected Ferdinand to be their king, counting on his aid against the Turks, but in truth they had only added to the numbers of their oppressors. Ferdinand and his successors were determined to compel them to reaccept Catholicism; and when not warring against the Turks, the Hungarians had to turn their exhausted strength against Austrian tyranny. Is there any cause for surprise that the arts of civilization did not flourish among them; that they became little better than savages? The wonder is rather that, thus persecuted upon all sides, any of the race have survived at all.

By the year 1600 the power of the Mahometans began to decay. They sought no more for conquest; the tribute which they had exacted even from proud Austria, was abandoned, and they consented to an equal peace, which, however, left half of Hungary in their hands.

The eastern Magyars managed to build up an independent kingdom for themselves in Transsylvania, which gradually increased in importance, especially during the Thirty Years' War, when nearly all Hungary was in revolt against Austria. The power of the Hapsburgs over Germany faded during that tragic struggle; but Leopold I., when he became emperor in 1657, promised such extensive reforms and so much of religious freedom, that he reconciled to his rule most of the people in his personal domains in Austria and Bohemia, and in Hungary also.

During his reign the Turks again menaced Vienna, but were defeated in a fierce battle fought on the Alpine slopes at the foot of Mount St. Gotthard. So complete was their overthrow that they might have been driven from Hungary, had not the Emperor sacrificed his subjects' interests to his own. In the treaty that followed, he surrendered even more of Hungary to the Mahometans, in consideration of personal advantages granted him elsewhere. Then, in 1673, he declared the ancient constitution of the Magyars abolished, and reduced their land to an Austrian province.

The betrayed and infuriated Hungarians once more revolted, and then began such a warfare as fortunately has seldom disgraced humanity. In their mad-

COUNTESS ZRINYI EXPLODING THE POWDER-MINE

dened hatred of everything German, the rebels inflicted death by the most frightful tortures upon every prisoner. Nor were the Hapsburg soldiers behind them in retaliation. It was a war, not of men, but of savage beasts, only human in the ingenuity with which they intensified an enemy's agonies. Some of the Hungarians even allied themselves with the Turks and aided another desolating Mahometan invasion. This resulted in the celebrated siege of Vienna in 1683, when the city was only saved by Sobieski and his Polish troops.

The Hungarian rights of self-government had been re-acknowledged and restored by frightened Austria; but after Sobieski's victory, Leopold, who had fled from Vienna during the siege, returned and deliberately adopted the cruel policy intended to make further Magyar revolt impossible. He is said to have declared openly that he would make Hungary a submissive and Catholic land though he made it an empty desert. He established at Eperies a court better known as the "bloody shambles of Eperies." For thirty days thirty executioners were kept steadily at work. Hungary's best and bravest were dragged to death and unnamable torture. In many cases no crime even of rebellion was proved against the victims. They were slain merely for their estates.

At the same time the Austrian army was sent against the enfeebled Turks. Its commander, the Duke of Lorraine, captured the fortress of Ofen after a fierce siege and thus recovered Buda, the ancient Hungarian capital which had been in Mahometan possession for one hundred and sixty years. The next year, 1687, he won a great battle on the field of Mohacs, the very spot where the Hungarians had encountered their crushing disaster.

The Emperor Leopold then found an even more successful general in Eugene, Prince of Savoy, who for over twenty years continued winning from the Turks one tremendous victory after another. At Zenta, in 1697, just as Eugene had made all preparations for an attack on the main army of the Mahometans under their Grand Vizier, he received a letter containing Leopold's positive orders not to risk a battle. Eugene had, however, advanced too far to retreat, so putting his orders in his pocket he proceeded with the assault. His audacity was crowned with a tremendous victory, which sent the Turks flying out of Hungary.

Eugene returned in triumph to Vienna, but was received as coldly as its Polish deliverer Sobieski had been. Indeed, the hero of Zenta was even temporarily imprisoned by the Emperor "for having disobeyed orders."

An unwise peace once more restored part of the much contested and long ruined Hungary to the Sultan; but the war soon broke out again, and a vast horde of Turks met Eugene at Peterwardein in 1716. It was a desperate fight, well contested upon both sides and raging for hours. At last the Turkish Vizier

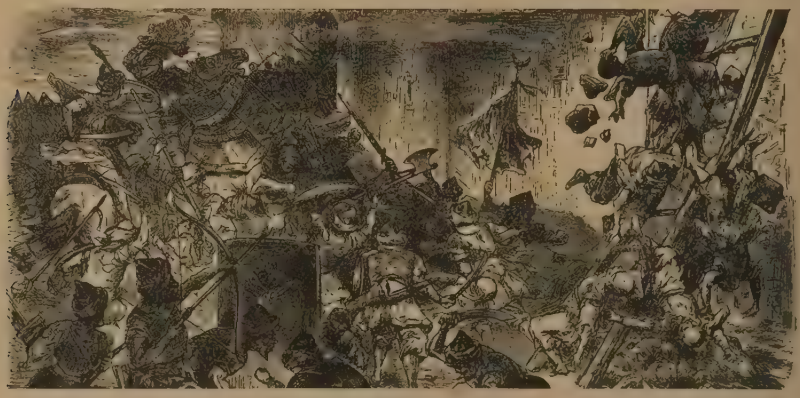
fell, and his troops fled once more out of Hungary, leaving thirty thousand of their dead behind.

The next year Eugene advanced upon Belgrade, and with sixty thousand soldiers laid siege to that, the last stronghold of Mahometan power on the Danube. The fortress, which was considered impregnable, contained thirty thousand well-provisioned troops; but the anxious Sultan raised an additional army of nearly two hundred thousand, and dispatched it under his ablest general to Belgrade's relief.

The Turkish Pasha, instead of attacking the Austrians, built entrenchments around their camp. Eugene thus found himself between two fires, the powerful garrison within Belgrade, and the enormous army without. Moreover, the sickly season was at hand, and his men, imprisoned on the low, swampy land, began to wither away under fierce fevers. The general himself was racked with the tortures of the disease, but, summoning all his energy, he determined to achieve the impossible. He directed a night attack, not against the fortress, but against the two hundred thousand men who surrounded him.

The unexpectedness of the assault made it successful. The bewildered Turks, taken completely by surprise, fired upon one another in the darkness. Cannon roared aimlessly, cavalry horses trampled upon friend and foe, and men slashed blindly right and left with crimsoned cimetars. The confusion and terror of the scene must have been beyond all conception. At last, with the cry of "Treason!" the Mahometans fled.

So complete was the overthrow that Belgrade itself surrendered unassailed, and the Sultan made no attempt to retrieve his disasters. He signed a humiliating peace in 1718, surrendering the last remnant of the lands his ancestors had conquered at Mohacs. The power of the Turks in Hungary was broken forever.



TURKS ATTACKING VIENNA IN 1683

THE DUKE OF LORRAINE RECEIVING THE CAPTURED TURKISH STANDARD AT MOHACS

JOSEPH I. RECEIVING THE SURRENDER OF THE HUNGARIANS.

Chapter LXXIII

THE AUSTRIAN EMPIRE.

BRIGHTER days began to dawn for Hungary. She was at last free, so far as the Turks were concerned. A change had come also in the policy of her Hapsburg kings. Notwithstanding the "shambles of Eperies," perhaps because of it, another Hungarian rebellion more determined than ever had broken out in 1704, and continued for seven years. To the Emperor Joseph I. belongs the honor of having at last reconciled the indomitable spirit of the Hungarians to the Hapsburg rule.

In 1711, when the rebels were crushed helpless under his feet, he made with them the generous treaty of Szathmar, which recognized many of their constitutional rights. His successor, Charles VI., went even further in this direction, acknowledging the right of the Hungarians to elect their own king, and promising many reforms, some of which were actually carried out.

The inextinguishable national spirit of the Magyars was thus conciliated. They felt themselves treated as an independent race, and in return they readily agreed to continue their kingship in the Hapsburg line. Maria Theresa, the daughter of Charles VI., succeeded to her father's possessions in 1740. You will recall the difficulties which Frederick the Great and others brought upon her, from all sides. Half a century before, the Hungarians would have eagerly taken advantage of her necessities to declare their independence; but now they had acquired something of loyalty and even liking for the house of Hapsburg, and when the young queen

threw herself upon them for support, they responded with the intense devotion which is part of the Magyar nature.

The fair queen, flushing with new hope, her heart thrilling with noble pride at the worship of a nation, went with delicate grace through the ancient kingly ceremony. Riding up St. Stephen's mount, she brandished the royal sword toward each of the four quarters of the globe and defied all enemies to come against her. Poor queen! the ceremonial had more than a spectacular meaning for her, against whom all the monarchs of Europe seemed at that very moment advancing in arms.

She showed her infant son to the Hungarians, and implored them to support him and her against the Germans. Whereon the impressionable nobles, forgetting their wrongs, forgetting all their ancient hatred of the Hapsburgs, waved their swords before her and cried: "We will die for our sovereign, Maria Theresa."

With the aid of her Hungarians and her equally faithful Austrians, Maria Theresa drove back all her enemies. Frederick the Great wrenched Silesia from her, and she lost some distant Italian provinces; but the heart of her domain she retained intact, and she succeeded in placing her husband upon the Imperial throne of Germany. Neither she nor her people ever forgot how they had stood by her in her time of extremest need. She made a generous and wise queen to them always, beloved as a daughter in her youth, as a mother in her age.

The good feeling thus established between the Hapsburgs and their subjects was immediately upset by the next ruler, Maria Theresa's son, Joseph II. He sought the friendship of his mother's foe, Frederick the Great, and was welcomed almost as a son by that aged despot, in imitation of whom Joseph determined to establish an absolute power over the Hapsburg lands. A coronation ceremonial of the Magyars, a survival of their ancient republican equality, reversed the formula of most lands, and required, not that the people should swear allegiance to the king, but that he should take oath to them, vowing to defend their laws and customs. The Hapsburgs had always gone through this ceremony cheerfully, without allowing it to weigh in the least upon their consciences. But Joseph II. was a conscientious man. He had no more intention of defending Hungarian customs than had his ancestors, but he differed from the previous Hapsburgs in being unwilling to take the oath.

This was against all precedent, and so there was dissatisfaction from the start. Indeed, Joseph was never really crowned king of Hungary at all, whence his people there called him the "*kalapos*" king ("hatted" or not crowned king), and hated him accordingly.

Joseph was a philosopher, plunged deep in the noble, abstract theories of the

"WE WILL DIE FOR OUR RULER, MARIA THERESA!"

eighteenth century; he meant to make his kingdom an elysium for his subjects Unfortunately, like most philosophers, he planned to construct his paradise upon his own theories, and then to force his subjects to take up their abode in it. Prejudice, he considered quite out of place, in other people. Almost his first effort in Hungary aimed at compelling the Magyars to speak the German language. By the utmost exercise of his philosophic ingenuity, he could not have hit upon a method better contrived to win him the intense antagonism of the entire Magyar race.

They were thus blinded to the value of his other reforms. He abolished serfdom—and the serfs themselves cried out that he was destroying the ancient constitution of the land. He established public schools—and the people said he was planning to teach their children to be infidels, and thus present their young souls to the evil one. The disaffection spread to Austria and Bohemia, where Joseph became almost equally unpopular.

His wiser laws enriched all his dominions. He built needed public works; he sought to equalize taxation; but at the same time he passed intolerable intermeddling ordinances, such as the one that ordered the people to bury their dead in sacks, because it would save the expense of wooden coffins. The millions whose lives and happiness depended upon his laws, were kept always in a state of excited misgiving as to his next move; they wavered on the very edge of rebellion.

To complete his misfortunes, he made a disastrous campaign against the Turks, and removed the adored Hungarian crown, the ancient relic of St. Stephen, from Buda to Vienna "for safety's sake." The Hungarians burst into open revolt. They were given back their crown; and the disheartened Joseph died, declaring that his world had failed to understand or appreciate him—which was very true, whether we place the blame with him or with the people.

He was succeeded by his brother, Leopold II. (1790–1792), who spent the two years of his short reign in trying to pacify his exasperated subjects by nullifying most of Joseph's reforms. One of the old institutions was gone, fortunately, beyond resuscitation: that was serfdom. The peasants had tasted freedom; and much as they hated Joseph, they could not be persuaded to submit to slavery again. The echoes of the French Revolution began to thrill the land; and in Bohemia the exactions of the nobility roused the peasantry to a short-lived tumult of revolt, in which many of the upper classes were slain.

Leopold was succeeded by his son Francis II. (1792–1835), who ruled over the Hapsburg domains throughout the French Revolution and the wars with Napoleon. During the early part of his reign, Francis acquired considerable territory from the Turks and from Poland, in whose final partition in 1795 he

took a leading part. The northern and eastern boundaries of his land were extended to about where they are to-day.

When Francis II. ascended the throne he was only twenty-four, and at first the enthusiasm of youth inclined him toward a generous and liberal form of government; but the excesses into which the French republicans rushed when left to their own guidance so horrified him, the murmurings among his own people grew so threatening, that he gradually became the most determined advocate of absolute power. He was the pillar of strength around which all the reactionary forces of Europe grouped themselves in their resistance to France, to the people, and to change in general.

Austria and France, thus set in deliberate opposition to each other as leaders of the two great hostile impulses of Europe, began war as early as 1792; and it lasted with little intermission until 1815. Gains and losses were about equal upon either side, until Napoleon appeared. In 1796 he drove the Austrians from their Italian provinces, and in 1797 penetrated Austria and threatened Vienna.

The luxurious city, the centre of European pomp and extravagance, had seen no enemy approach its gates since the repulse of the Turks over a century before. Its pleasure-seeking citizens had forgotten the meaning of war. But they loved their country; and the contest which, when at a distance, they had treated with easy indifference as a political quarrel, now changed its entire character and became the struggle of a nation to maintain its independence.

Napoleon saw the change, and proposed peace. Francis II., incapable of comprehending the stupendous force that was being roused to his help, eagerly accepted the proffered terms. Humiliated and terrified by defeat, he and his ministers were easily cowed at Campo Formio. When they objected to some of the terms of the treaty, Napoleon swept a goblet crashing to the floor. "Thus," he said, "will I shatter your kingdom." The arrogant threat reduced them instantly to submission.

Under Napoleon's leadership, France soon ceased to represent progress and republicanism, and typefied military ambition and despotism instead. Piece by piece, Austria lost to her rival all her western lands. She was driven from the Netherlands, part of which had been hers for centuries. She was expelled from Italy, where her ascendancy had lasted from the time of the battle of Pavia, in 1527. She lost most of her German possessions; and in 1806 Francis was compelled to resign his empty title of Emperor of a German Empire which no longer existed.

The Austrian Empire itself began technically in 1804, when Francis assumed the title of Emperor of Austria, in a proclamation which assured his

MEETING OF FREDERICK THE GREAT AND THE YOUNG EMPEROR JOSEPH II

people that "each of our kingdoms, our principalities, and our provinces shall preserve as heretofore its title, its constitution, and its privileges."

Up to 1805, the Hapsburg power had, despite its reverses, been strengthened, rather than weakened, by the French wars. It had lost only distant territories, which were difficult to keep; and the heterogeneous peoples had grown much more united by their comradeship in arms. For over ten years Austrians, Hungarians, Bohemians, and Croatians had been fighting side by side for a common cause, until a real feeling of union and nationality had crystallized among them. In the wars that followed 1805, this feeling was still further strengthened by their common sufferings and losses.

Napoleon captured Vienna, November 3, 1805, and defeated the Austrians and Russians at Austerlitz, December 2d. He then helped himself to Austria's Adriatic seacoast, and gave her Alpine provinces to Bavaria. The people of the plundered land drew closer together, their hatred of France intensified, and they themselves urged their sovereign to rebellion. In the war of 1809 the entire country fought as a unit against Napoleon. For the first time its forces won a great battle against the French conqueror himself. The desperate valor of the Austrian troops, fighting amid the gravestones of the old churchyard of Aspern, astonished Napoleon. He admitted that he had found rivals worthy of him, and is reported to have said: "Who did not see the Austrians at Aspern, has seen nothing."

The Archduke Charles, who commanded the Austrian forces, was hailed by his brother the Emperor Francis as the "saviour of our country." Austrian hopes rose to the highest point. But the fortunes of war remained with the mighty conqueror. Vienna had been already captured for the second time and its walls destroyed; and finally Duke Charles and his army were defeated at Wagram.

Wagram was Austria's final humiliation, her crushing overthrow. A large portion of the south of the land was attached to the French Empire under the name of the Illyrian Provinces. The populace of this district, being neither German nor Magyar, but of the down-trodden Sclavic race, seem to have readily welcomed the change of masters. The general loyalty of the Austrian lands to the Hapsburgs was, however, heroically and tragically displayed in the Alpine provinces.

The hardy mountaineers of the Tyrol, unlettered, ignorant of the world about them, attached themselves to the Austrian cause with a heroism simple and sublime. Andreas Hofer, an innkeeper and horsedealer, well known among his countrymen, became their leader. The Hapsburgs themselves encouraged him, and for months the peasants repelled army after army of French and Bavarians in open battle, or annihilated them among the mountain passes. The

Emperor Francis assured the Tyrolese that he would never again abandon such faithful subjects.

But Napoleon was stronger than he. In the peace that was signed between the two emperors in October of 1809, the Tyrol was not even mentioned. France was thus left free to turn all her strength against the gallant mountaineers, and they were finally overwhelmed. Hofer was captured, treated with every indignity and insult, and shot as a traitor.

Austria was forced into the position of a dependent ally of Napoleon. The Emperor's daughter, Maria Louisa, became the conqueror's bride; and Austria sent her share of troops under General Schwarzenberg to take part in the great Russian campaign of 1812.

Schwarzenberg did for Austria what General York did for Prussia. He managed to separate his forces from the main body of the French, escaped their disaster, negotiated separately with the Russians, and brought his army back to Austria in safety. In the European coalition which was promptly formed against France, Austria under the guidance of her able minister Metternich, held back, wavered apparently as to whether to join Napoleon or his foes. Thus she secured eager overtures from both sides, and when she finally gave her strength to the allies, her general, Schwarzenberg, was made commander-in-chief against Napoleon. When the tyrant was overthrown, Austria became once more the centre of diplomatic counsels.

The Congress of 1814, to settle the fate of liberated Europe, was held quite naturally in Vienna. The Austrian minister Metternich was made its president. The gorgeous and pleasure-loving Austrian capital, relieved from its nightmare of shame and suffering, burst into one round of resplendent fêtes. "The Congress does not advance," wrote one diplomat; "it only dances."

After nearly two years of dancing, under Metternich's clever guidance, the Congress found it had completed its work, and the members were at liberty to disperse. The forces of reaction had won a complete triumph. Every effort for constitutional liberty had been diplomatically defeated; every cry for reform cautiously hushed. The old "absolutism" was restored, and Catholic, reactionary Austria became the admitted centre from which European diplomacy took its guidance for a generation to follow. The Emperor Francis II., who had twice seen his capital helpless in an enemy's hands, found himself once more the most important monarch of his time.

THE BATTLE OF ASPERN

SCLAVIC PEASANTS PLUNDERING THE MAGYARS

Chapter LXXIV

THE PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

AT the close of the Congress of Vienna, Austria's power and influence stood at its culminating point. She had regained all her lost territories, excepting distant Belgium and some Rhine lands, which she felt better off without, and she had extended her sway over all of northern Italy, except Piedmont.

The fact that Austria to-day is no longer the greatest, nor even one of the great powers of Europe, is wholly due to her rulers. Metternich's clever statesmanship had been triumphantly successful with kings and ministers, but it failed utterly before the new force that was slowly dominating Europe —the power of the people.

Fortune seemed once more ready to bestow her choicest smiles upon the Hapsburgs; but Francis II. deliberately turned his back upon them. He might have been again Emperor of Germany; but he preferred his more independent and autocratic position as Emperor of Austria, and strove rather to weaken Germany and keep it divided. He might perhaps have firmly amalgamated his own heterogeneous subjects. All of these were at the moment proud of their victories over Napoleon, inclined toward union, friendly toward one another, and intensely loyal to their sovereign. But here also Francis adopted the crafty maxim of selfish power, "Divide and rule."

He once expressed his policy to the French ambassador: "My people do not catch the same illnesses at the same time. In France, when you are attacked

by a fever, you all have it at once. But I can send Hungarian troops to Italy, or Italians to Hungary, to take care of their sick neighbors. They do not understand one another, perhaps they hate—but from their hate comes order, and we secure the general peace."

Therein lay the cause of his failure and that of Metternich: they persisted in tricking the people, treating them as enemies, and trying to crush them back into their ancient submission. This had become impossible. The school system of Maria Theresa and Joseph II. had wrought its work. The people were no longer so ignorant as to submit helplessly to oppression; and it had become difficult to find even a soldiery sufficiently brutalized to trample upon the rights of their countrymen.

The French Revolution had accomplished its mission, and the people comprehended at last that they and not the kings could be masters if they chose. Under these circumstances it became essential that a government should satisfy, or at least not wholly dissatisfy, its subjects. Otherwise it would pass away.

The personal popularity of Francis upheld the Hapsburg government during his life. He and his people had endured together the misfortunes of the Napoleon era. Their devotion had saved to him his empire, and they loved him for the service they had done him. He was *their* Emperor. Moreover, in his private character he was a kindly man, happy to pose as the bountiful father of his peasantry, chatting with them in homely fashion as he wandered unattended through the Vienna streets. To the deep plans of the despot, he thus added the surface methods of the politician. While he lived, the Viennese remained faithful and submissive to their "father." And in Europe, to an extent which Americans can scarce realize, the capital speaks for the nation.

In Hungary, however, the voice of discontent grew loud. Francis attempted what no Hapsburg had yet succeeded in accomplishing—the reduction of the Magyars from their rank as an independent race to that of mere Austrian subjects. For years he avoided convoking the ancient Hungarian Diet. At last, in 1825, the clamor of the nation compelled him to summon the members together, and they at once defied him vigorously and successfully.

Francis Szechenyi, called by his countrymen "the Great Magyar," was the leader in this movement. It was he who opened the path for modern civilization and improvements in Hungary, devoting to his country the whole influence of his high rank, vast wealth, and exceptionally brilliant abilities. He had swamps drained, bridges built, and everything possible done for ameliorating the poverty of his countrymen. Still more important in their eyes, he had the Magyar tongue substituted for Latin in the Hungarian Diet, and founded, out of his own fortune, a Magyar university. The Austrian court looked with distrust on these sturdy national movements and hampered them at every turn.

1848, THE PEOPLE'S BARRICADE IN PRAGUE

Similar intelligent efforts toward freedom and prosperity were made everywhere in Europe. Such were the "secret society" movements in Italy, and the war of independence in Greece. Wherever genuine progress appeared, there also appeared the mailed hand of the Austrian Government, interfering as the repressor of the people. Other monarchs began to see the impossibility of this blindly stubborn course, and the influence of Austria declined, as did her wealth and the patriotism of her subjects.

Francis died, and his son, Ferdinand IV. (1835–1848), succeeded to the throne. The new monarch proved weak-minded, almost to imbecility, and the government of his empire passed into the hands of a commission of officials with Metternich at their head.

To understand the events that followed, we must stop to look once more at the varied nations which submitted to the Hapsburg rule. In what is called Lower Austria—that is, the district around Vienna—the inhabitants were an indolent, pleasure-seeking race, who had never possessed political freedom, and, under their indulgent sovereign, had hardly felt the desire for it. In Upper Austria, the mountain land of the Tyrol and its surroundings, the peasantry had always been allowed to manage their local affairs; they were under little restraint, but were ignorant of the outside world—they long refused even to allow railways to run through their mountains—and were completely devoted to their priests and to their sovereigns, the Hapsburgs.

In other parts of the land, however, the feeling was less satisfactory. The down-trodden Sclavs, particularly in the south, where Napoleon had made of them his "Illyrian Provinces," began to awake from their stupor and to remember that once they had been free and powerful. Bohemia asked what had become of the ancient rights under which she had elected the Hapsburgs to her throne, and which had never been formally surrendered. The Sclavic Poles had not forgotten their former independence. The Servians, a Romance race, had recently seen their kinsmen in Servia win liberty from the decaying Turkish Empire. Italy, held in subjection by Austrian troops, could be regarded only as a conquered land, ready to burst into fierce rebellion the instant opportunity offered.

In Hungary the situation was even more complicated. It must be kept in mind that the Magyars were not the original inhabitants of their land, but had come as conquerors among the earlier inhabitants, the Sclavs. Throughout a thousand years the two races had failed to amalgamate, and remained in the nineteenth century as radically separate as in the ninth. The Sclavs were still subject to their oppressors. "A Sclavic man is no man," says the Magyar proverb. All the power and wealth of the land lay in the hands of the dominant people, and the liberty which they so earnestly demanded for them-

selves, they were equally vehement in denying to their down-trodden subjects.

Thus the Austrian domains were a jumbled mass of smouldering combustibles, ready to flare up like tinder the instant a wind should fan them, and to burn furiously with such explosions as no man might foresee.

The threatened wind blew from France in 1848. The people there declared themselves once more a republic, and all through Europe swept the echoing cry for liberty. Italy rose at once against the tyrant Hapsburgs, as has been told in her own story. During the two years of disaster that followed, she was a continual thorn in the side of the Austrian Government, hampering its every effort and drawing away the troops, that were needed to crush rebellion nearer home.

Bohemia also had its tumults of revolt. The Emperor Ferdinand authorized the gathering of a Bohemian convention to plan government reforms. But Germans and Sclavs quarrelled violently on the floor of the debating hall in Prague. The citizens upheld the Sclavs; the Imperial troops, under their general, Windischgratz, favored the Germans. Rioting broke out in the streets of the city, barricades were built, a chance shot slew the young bride of Windischgratz, and his troops charged murderously upon the mob. Windischgratz, of his own authority, declared the convention dissolved, and Bohemian home rule was at an end.

Meanwhile in Austria the clamor burst out in Vienna itself. The university students, despite the fact that their teaching had been kept strictly in the hands of pro-Hapsburg professors, headed the revolt. They paraded the streets with petitions for a liberal government, they fought the Imperial troops sent against them, and persisted in their shouts of "Down with Metternich." The mob caught up the cry, and after a bloody street battle burned the palace of the ancient statesman. He fled from the city in a washerwoman's cart, and galloped with a cavalry escort out of Austria, else worse might have befallen him. The Emperor proclaimed the city under martial law, but the next moment yielded, authorized the arming of the students as a sort of national guard, and summoned a parliament.

This assembly, consisting of popularly elected representatives from all the varied Austrian states except Hungary, met in Vienna in July, 1848. Nothing except the Biblical "confusion of tongues" at Babel has ever matched this remarkable assemblage. At least seven totally distinct nations, speaking different languages, were represented. The members not only failed to understand one another; they were bitterly opposed, and quarrelled at every step. The Sclavs were in the majority, and the Bohemian Sclavs really dominated the Congress. Out of respect to Austria, however, German was the language in

THE UPRISING OF THE VIENNESE, MARCH 13, 1848

which it was agreed to debate, and the delegates who could not understand it—a very considerable fraction of the whole—were furnished with interpreters.

Such a Congress necessarily moved slowly. Moreover, it was strongly anti-German in its tendencies. It did not suit the Viennese at all, and they, having suddenly tasted the intoxicating air of freedom, set no limits upon their desires for self-government. Thus Vienna contained at once an autocratic though feeble emperor with an army still at his command, a reforming and wildly debating but conservative congress, and a rabidly radical and irresponsible mob. There was much rioting in the streets, and the congressional delegates were with difficulty protected from assaults.

Meanwhile, affairs in Hungary were even more disastrously confused. The Diet assembled there at Pesth had, under the leadership of Louis Kossuth, demanded extensive reforms and complete self-government. The Emperor assented to everything they asked, and they unwisely and selfishly claimed too much. Magyar was made the official language of all the Hungarian lands, and the suffrage was so restricted as to keep all power in Magyar hands.

Hence the first widespread appeal to arms amid all the uproar, came from the races subject to the Magyars, the Sclavic and Romance people of the south. They asked the Hungarian Diet for equal rights, protested against the enforced use of the Magyar tongue, and demanded the removal of the insulting and contemptuous words with which Hungarian laws had always referred to them as inferior races. The Magyars scornfully refused these demands, and first the Servians, then the Croatian Sclavs, began to gather in armies, under their governor or *Ban*, Jellachich.

It has been charged that the rebels were encouraged by the Imperial court. At any rate, they sent a delegation to the Vienna parliament to appeal for protection against the haughty Magyars. The envoys were well received, and when the Hungarians sent a counter delegation, the Sclavic majority of the parliament refused it admission.

The Imperial government then disowned the Hungarian parliament, displaced the native commander-in-chief of the government troops in Hungary, and substituted an Austrian general. When the unfortunate newcomer entered Pesth, he was murdered by a Magyar mob. The Emperor retaliated by declaring the insurgent Ban Jellachich commander in Hungary, and the Magyars accepted this as a declaration of war. Jellachich and his Croatians had been cruelly ravaging southern Hungary. They were defeated, many of them were captured, and the remainder fled with their leader into Austria.

Thus by an odd complication the uprising of the Sclavs brought them into union with the Imperial government. The aristocratic Magyars also found themselves in strange alliance with the Austrian democrats. The Vienna pop-

ulace regarded the Hungarians as defying the tyranny of the government, and sympathized loudly with them in consequence.

The Viennese radicals even promised the Magyars that no further Austrian troops should march against Hungary, and kept the promise for a time by force. They destroyed the bridge over the Danube by which the regiments were ordered to march, and kidnapped the unfortunate minister of war, Latour, who was dragged naked through the streets, horribly beaten, and finally hanged to a lamppost by the Vienna mob.

The Emperor fled from the city. The conservative members of the parliament withdrew in dignified displeasure to Prague, and the Imperial armies under the Austrian general Windischgratz and the Sclavic Ban Jellachich marched to attack the capital. It resisted desperately; the regiments of students, especially the Tyrolese, fought heroically, but in vain. Vienna was bombarded and captured October 30, and the leading revolutionists were shot. A Hungarian army had marched to the assistance of the Viennese, but it arrived too late, and was compelled to retreat into Hungary followed by the Imperial forces.

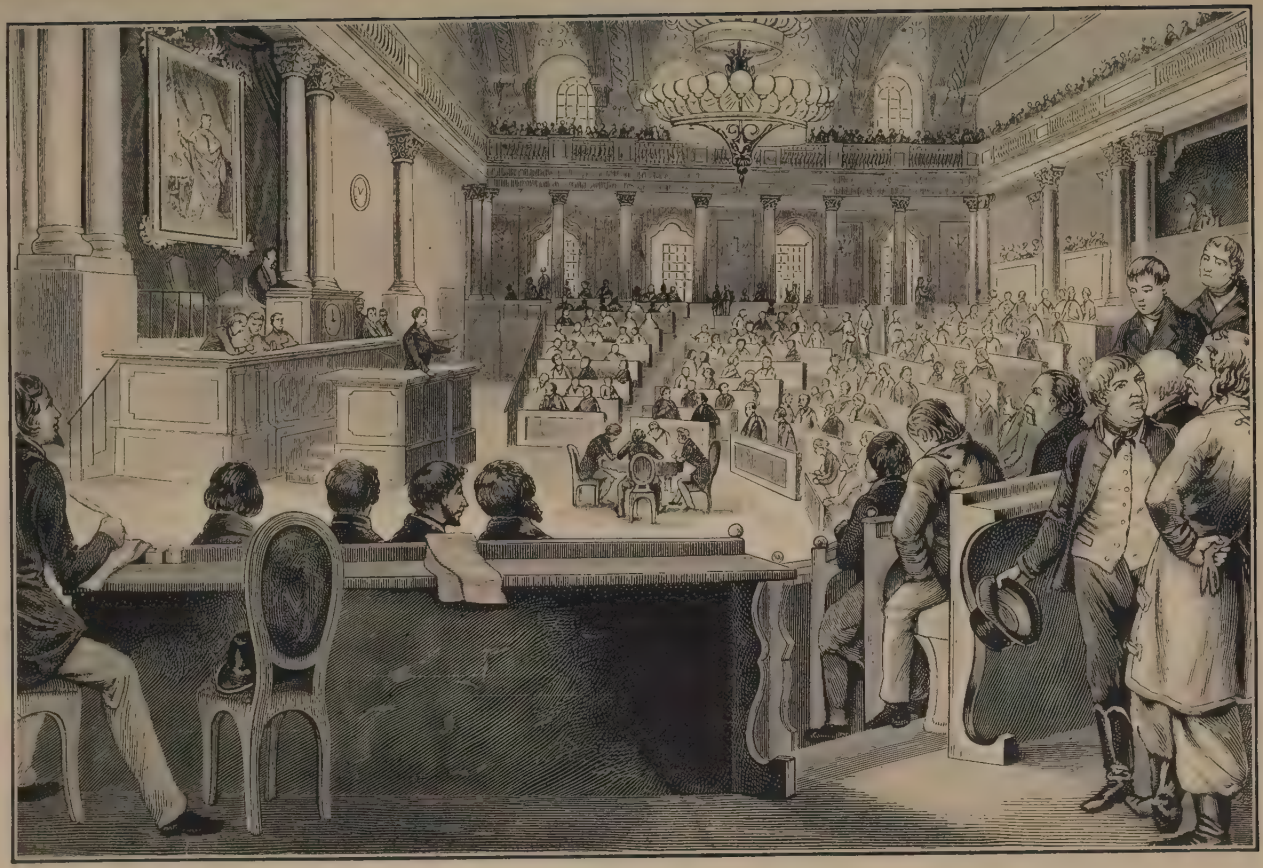
Meanwhile, the Emperor Ferdinand, bewildered, terrified, and despairing, was persuaded by his family to resign his crown in favor of his energetic and popular young nephew. This nephew, the present Emperor Francis Joseph, ascended the throne December 2, 1848. The previous day had been his eighteenth birthday, and he had been hurriedly declared of legal age.

Francis Joseph proved at least a more vigorous ruler than his predecessor. He at once proclaimed himself a constitutional monarch. In his opening announcement to his subjects he declared that he was "firmly resolved to preserve the splendor of the crown without a blemish, but ready to share the imperial rights with the representatives of the people."

The war against the Hungarians was, however, continued. General Windischgratz won victory after victory from them, and on January 1, 1849, Kossuth removed the capital of the revolutionists from Pesth, which was soon occupied by the Austrian troops. Then the tide of war turned. The eloquent appeals of Kossuth raised army after army among the Magyars, and he, though himself ignorant of military affairs, found competent generals in Gorgei and the Polish commander Bem.

Windischgratz, after repeated defeats, was dismissed from his command; but his successors were as unable as he to check the heroic onslaught of the Magyars. The Austrians were driven out of Hungary, and the triumphant Hungarian Diet, which had never acknowledged Francis Joseph as its king, declared the reign of Ferdinand IV. at an end and the country independent (April 14, 1849).

This seemed the simple statement of an accomplished fact, for the Austrian



THE FIRST AUSTRIAN PARLIAMENT (*From a print of the time*)

forces were completely defeated and demoralized. Yet its announcement brought down upon the Hungarians a new foe, the Russian Czar. He wanted no republics upon the border line of his own despotism, and promptly offered the use of all his troops to the Austrian Government. Overwhelming masses of Russians moved against the doomed Magyars. Their resistance was furious and bloody, but hopeless. Gorgei surrendered the helpless remnant of his army August 13, under circumstances strongly suggestive of treachery. The last outstanding fortress, Comorn, capitulated September 25; and Kossuth, with all the Hungarians who had taken a leading part in the rebellion, some five thousand unfortunates in all, fled to Turkey.

The Austrian Government resumed its authority in the exhausted land, which was placed under military rule. All those who thought themselves liable to vengeance had fled. But the Austrian general Haynau held a broader conception of the duties of his office, and managed to hang and slaughter and shoot and imprison, until the whole civilized world protested, and his government disowned and recalled him—and heaped honors on his contemptible head.

Hungary was crushed—but only for the moment. Truly her spirit seems imperishable and beyond the control of man. Kossuth was still alive, and in his exile he journeyed from land to land, pleading for his people, making their cause known everywhere in the world. America heard his speeches in 1851, and he was made the honored guest of our nation. Hungary could not perish while Kossuth lived.

FRANCIS JOSEPH RIDING UP THE SACRED MOUNT AS KING OF HUNGARY

FRANCIS JOSEPH OPENING THE BRIDGE OVER THE DANUBE

Chapter LXXV

THE MODERN AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE

BY the close of 1849 the Austrian monarch once more reigned unopposed over undiminished territories. But they had been restored to him only through Russian aid. The weakness of his position was recognized, and the Hapsburg influence over Europe had disappeared.

It is a painful task to trace the mistaken policy and slow decay of a once mighty state. Francis Joseph attempted to hold Hungary, Italy, and Vienna itself under strict control by force. Even the Sclavs, who had remained faithful to their sovereign, were deceived and tricked.

Ferdinand IV. had promised them a constitution, and the remnant of the parliament that had abandoned Vienna in 1848 continued to hold sessions under Ferdinand's authority at Kremsier in Moravia. They had set for themselves the impossible task of drawing up a constitution which should be acceptable to everybody in the empire. Francis Joseph allowed them to continue their sittings until their work was finished, and the new constitution was ready for promulgation in March, 1849. Then, the imperial government, having thus kept the people quiet as long as possible, gravely announced to the parliament that, since its members no longer represented the entire Empire, it would be unfair to allow them to act for the Empire, or force their constitution upon all its districts.

They were therefore dismissed, and the Emperor conferred a constitution of his own upon his faithful subjects, a constitution which gave small recognition to the Sclavs, which satisfied nobody, which never worked in practice, and was

THE AUSTRIAN PARLIAMENT OF 1902

never intended to do so. It was only given to pacify the people, and was withdrawn at the end of 1851, as soon as the Emperor felt once more secure upon his throne.

The Hapsburg Empire thus returned once more to its ancient policy of repression, and, despite the lesson of 1848, continued until 1860 an absolute monarchy. The Hapsburgs have been slow to learn, and Francis Joseph, persisting in the futile effort of his ancestors, attempted to Germanize his domains, though not one-fourth of his subjects were really of that race.

Austria's position as the leading German state was maintained at every cost. Prussia's efforts to secure this place were persistently opposed. Home interests were neglected for foreign; the public debt increased, and so also did the poverty and misery of the subject peoples.

Italy escaped from this house of sorrow in 1859. Being in constant fear of rebellion, Austria saw danger in the armies of the Italian King of Sardinia and declared war against him. All Italy eagerly united with him, France lent him her aid, and the Austrians were defeated at Magenta and Solferino. The Hapsburgs lost all their Italian possessions except Venetia.

More galling than the defeat must have been the knowledge that their humiliation was welcomed with savage joy by the vast majority of their subjects. The Bohemians said openly: "If we are defeated in Italy, we shall be granted a constitution; if we win, we shall be put under the inquisition."

The defeat did, indeed, bring an Austrian constitution in its train. At last the Emperor was convinced that he alone could not bring back the dark ages, that the spirit of modern liberty was stronger than he. Very slowly, like a child groping in darkness, he began to make feeble efforts toward conferring their rights upon his people. The constitution of 1861, called Schmerling's law, from the minister chosen to enforce its provisions, proved, however, almost as much a piece of trickery as the earlier ones. It pretended to give equal rights to all the nationalities; but Schmerling, a German, so apportioned the delegates as to preserve German supremacy. Thus in Bohemia, the Sclavic capital Prague, with a population of one hundred and fifty thousand, was allowed only ten representatives, while a neighboring town, one-tenth the capital's size but peopled with Germans, had three. One German village of five hundred people elected a representative of its own; one Sclavic city of eight thousand had none.

It was clear that either Francis Joseph or his ministers were still bent on Germanizing the Empire. They had yet another lesson to learn. The Venetians refused to have anything to do with this constitution of Schmerling. So did the Hungarians. The latter, under their leader Francis Deak, "the Wise,"

as they have named him, returned only one answer to all entreaties to enter the new arrangement. "We have a constitution already, our own ancient one. Give it back. We know nothing of any other."

The Bohemians were equally dissatisfied, and though at first they attended the meetings of the new parliament, they found themselves in a helpless minority and soon refused to have anything further to do with it. There was a Polish rebellion in 1863. By 1865 Francis Joseph admitted that the whole plan was a failure, and dismissed his minister Schmerling. Celebrations and illuminations followed through all the Sclavic towns. The Poles and Bohemians ventured to introduce their own language into their schools, which had previously been taught in German.

To the Magyars the Emperor himself appealed, to know what would satisfy them. He was met with the steadfast demand for the return of their ancient rights, but these he was not yet ready to grant.

Then the war with Prussia broke out in 1866. The Bohemians, being nearest Prussia, asked arms wherewith to defend themselves; but the government dared not trust them, and refused. Some of the Hungarians talked openly of allying themselves with Austria's foes. This remarkable "Seven Weeks' War," ending with the defeat of Koeniggratz, showed the world how far behind in the march of civilization this heavy, unwieldy Austria had fallen, and how little avail were her forty millions of ignorant and impoverished people, when opposed to an intellectual and energetic modern race. The favorite German saying can never be impressed too strongly on us: "It was the Prussian schoolmasters who won the battle of Koeniggratz."

One ray of triumph softened to the Austrians the bitterness of their overwhelming defeat. Italy had joined Prussia in the war, and Austria's troops had defeated the Italians at Custozza, her fleet under Admiral Tegethoff had destroyed their navy at Lissa. These victories availed nothing, however, in the treaty of peace that followed. Austria, losing Venetia, was driven out of Italy, and, forfeiting her rank as a member of the German confederation, was driven out of Germany.

Fate has thus forced upon the Hapsburgs a wisdom they have never shown for themselves. For three centuries they had striven for German and Italian power, looking upon their eastern territories only as a treasury from which to draw men and money for conquest in the west. Expelled at last from both Italy and Germany, Francis Joseph perforce turned his attention to establishing himself within his own domains. Dissociated from the other German states, the Germanizing of his possessions was no longer possible.

From sad experience he knew that there was no one of his own statesmen capable of uniting and satisfying all his discordant nations. So he summoned

"NO RETREAT!" THE AUSTRIAN POLAR EXPEDITION OF 1874

in a stranger, a German, the Saxon minister Count von Beust, and placed everything in his hands.

It is Beust's plan that governs Austria to-day. It may not display the broadest political wisdom, and perhaps it cannot be regarded as a final settlement of the question at issue; perhaps indeed no "final settlement" or unravelling of so tangled a skein is possible. Beust seems merely to have argued from a German standpoint: "The Germans of Austria cannot alone control this Empire. Let them summon to their help the most powerful of the other races. The Magyars defeated them in 1849; the Magyars must be conciliated." Everything the Hungarians had demanded was granted them. Kossuth himself might have returned to Hungary, if he would; but his persistent demand was for independence or nothing. His countrymen accepted the lesser gift of constitutional equality, and he and they parted company. He remained in exile till his death in 1900.

Thus was begun the famous "Ausgleich" or agreement of 1867, between Austria and Hungary. The two nations have been made absolutely equal, each with a parliament of its own. As evidence of this equality, the very name of the state was changed to its present form, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and Francis Joseph did what for nineteen years he had refused to do, went to the Magyar capital, was there solemnly crowned with the crown of St. Stephen, and swore to uphold the ancient rights of Hungary.

As for the Sclavs, they found themselves worse off than ever. Instead of one tyrant, they had two, and the Magyars have been as overbearing as the Hapsburgs ever dared to be. The Hungarian parliament transacts all business for the subject lands in the south and east, and its constant effort has been to Magyarize them—as yet with but small success.

The new empire has, at least, escaped armed rebellion. The Sclavs, ever patient and law-abiding, have sought their rights only by pacific means. In the districts under the Austrian parliament—that is, the lands in the north and west, they have slowly acquired much of what they asked. Schmerling's unjust apportionment, which deprived them of all real representation, has been abolished, though the suffrage does not even yet permit all the Sclavs to vote. Nevertheless, its extension has brought new troubles upon the empire. Bohemia's six million inhabitants include some two million Germans, and these naturally object to surrendering the power which was once wholly in their hands. They protest bitterly against their subjection to the Sclavic race, have in their turn refused to take any part in the local parliament of Bohemia, and even look to Germany to lend them assistance.

Outside of these as yet unsolved and threatening race problems, the main centre of excitement in the Hapsburg Empire since 1867 has been the Eastern

Question: that is, What shall be done with the Turkish possessions in Europe? Turkey seems no longer able to protect herself, she refuses civilization, and persists in abusing her Christian subjects. In 1876 she began so general a massacre of these unfortunates that Russia interfered and brought on the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78.

During these hostilities Austria found herself most awkwardly situated. Since the Turks have ceased their warfare against the Hungarians, a certain friendly feeling has grown up between these two neighboring races, based on their common Asian origin. After the Russians had crushed Hungary in 1849, Kossuth and the other Magyar exiles fled to Turkey, and the Sultan refused to surrender them even when threatened with war both by Russia and Austria.

Naturally the Hungarians hate Russia and are attached to Turkey. In 1877 every Turkish success, every Russian difficulty was received with cheers and celebrations in Hungary. The Sclavs, however, look to Russia as the great Sclavic state; she was fighting to avenge the people of their race, and they rejoiced ardently and illuminated their cities whenever her armies triumphed. So tumultuous did these demonstrations become on both sides, that the Hapsburg Empire seemed about to be rent asunder by civil war.

The German Austrians themselves cared nothing for either Turks or Russians. Their only anxiety was to maintain peace among their own restless possessions. They preserved, therefore, an enforced neutrality. After the war, however, they considered themselves entitled to some reward for not having attacked either side, and the government demanded and received the principalities of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The remainder of the Christian territory of the Turks was broken up into the little semi-independent Balkan states.

Here was an attractive field opened to Austrian diplomacy. There might be valuable bits of territory to be won from among these tiny states. Shut off from enlargement to the north and west, her aim has since been to expand to the south and east. In fact, it has been aptly said that for centuries Austria has been like a great crab on the map of Europe, always facing toward Germany and Italy, threatening and clutching at them with her claws, yet with her real movement ever backward toward the east.

Many difficulties have beset Austria's recent course in the Balkans. Even Bosnia and Herzegovina were not occupied without trouble. Hungary protested against their acquisition at all; since it meant the adding to the Empire of just so many more Sclavs to overwhelm her Magyars. The Bosnian mountaineers themselves objected even more vigorously, took up arms for their liberty, and were only subdued after several thousand Austrian soldiers had been slain.

About the same time, Austria interested herself also in polar exploration. An expedition in a government vessel named after Admiral Tegethoff, pene-

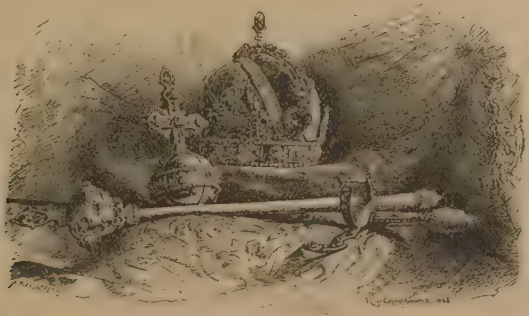
THE FUNERAL SERVICES OF THE EMPRESS ELIZABETH

trated the frozen North. It discovered and explored for Austria the before unknown islands now known as Francis Joseph Land. An attempt was made to reach yet higher latitudes, but this proved a disastrous failure.

Since 1878 Austro-Hungary has gained or lost no more territory, though her diplomatic influence over the little border state of Servia seems to amount almost to ownership. The other Balkan states regard her with suspicion and distrust. With her larger neighbors, her associations seem now fairly harmonious. The "Triple Alliance," renewed in 1902, unites her to Italy and Germany. A new commercial treaty with Russia seems a pledge of mutual good feeling in that important direction.

The material prosperity of Austro-Hungary is increasing rapidly. Her financial affairs, long hopelessly involved and in the hands of usurers, seem reaching a sounder basis. The race problem, however, will not down. Almost every year the Austrian, and in a lesser degree the Hungarian, parliament is a scene of wild disorder, the Sclavs obstructing all business in their struggle for recognition.

The royal family itself has faced much domestic misfortune in recent years. The Emperor's only son, the Archduke Rudolf, was slain or committed suicide in 1889, under circumstances not fully understood. The Empress, "Gold Else," as her loving subjects called her in endearment, was stabbed by an anarchist in 1898 while visiting Geneva in Switzerland. The aged Emperor himself, personally dear to his people, as most of the Hapsburgs have been dear, is bowed and worn with many struggles and sorrows, and seems only waiting for his final release. He has reigned longer than any monarch now upon a throne. His nephew, the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, is the heir to his honors, his trials, and his sufferings, not a particularly desirable inheritance, for truly indeed, in such a land as Austro-Hungary, "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown."



THE AUSTRIAN CROWN, SCEPTRE AND GLOBE

CHARLES OF BOHEMIA AT DINNER (*From an old Manuscript*)

CHRONOLOGY OF AUSTRIA

C. 129—Illyria (the Adriatic coast) made a Roman province. 9—Noricum (Austria) made a Roman province.

A.D. 8—Pannonia (Hungary) made a Roman province. 166—Wars of the Marcomanni. 375—Appearance of the Huns; they desolate Pannonia. 451—Destruction of the Hunnish Empire at Chalons. 565—Invasion of the Avars. 700–750 (?)—Reign of the first Bohemian King, Premysl. 791—Wars of Charlemagne against the Avars. 796—Destruction of the Avars; founding of the East-Mark by Charlemagne. 806—Bohemia tributary to Charlemagne. 846—Rostislav made Duke of Moravia as a vassal to Ludwig the German. 849—Rostislav defeats the Germans and forms an independent Sclavic state. 863—Methodius and Cyril introduce Christianity into Moravia. 874—Svatopluk becomes King of Moravia, defeats the Germans, and forms a mighty Sclavic state. 884—The Magyars enter the Danube valley. 892—Their chief, Arpad, defeated by Svatopluk. 894—Arpad and Arnulf of Germany defeat Svatopluk; his death. 907—End of the Moravian kingdom.

924—Height of the Magyar power; the German Emperor pays them tribute. 933—Defeat of the Magyars by Henry I. at Merseburg. 955—They are defeated by Otto I.; he reëstablishes the East-Mark. 970—Defeat of the Magyars by the Byzantine Emperor at Arcadianople. 972–997—Duke Geyza civilizes Hungary. 973—The Babenbergs become Margraves of the East-Mark. 994—St. Adalbert of Bohemia introduces Christianity into Hungary. 996—

THE AUSTRIAN EMPERORS OF GERMANY

The East-Mark becomes known as the East-Kingdom or Austria. 997–1038—Reign of St. Stephen of Hungary. 1000—He is crowned Apostolic King by the Pope. 1024—The Duke of Bohemia made an Elector of the German Empire. 1156—Austria made a Duchy under Henry Jasomirgott of Babenberg. 1157—Bohemia made a kingdom by Barbarossa. 1241—The Tartars are defeated in Bohemia; they ravage Hungary. 1246—Death of Frederick the War-like; last of the Babenbergs. 1253—Ottocar II. becomes King of Bohemia, and establishes a great Sclavic kingdom. 1254—He becomes Duke of Austria. 1255—Leads a crusade against the Prussians. 1260—Defeats the Hungarians. 1273—Rudolf of Hapsburg made Emperor of Germany; quarrels with Ottocar. 1278—Defeat and death of Ottocar at Marchfield.

1282—Rudolf confers Austria on his son Albert as Duke of Austria; beginning of the Hapsburg dynasty in Austria. 1292—Death of Rudolf. 1298—His son Albert of Austria becomes Emperor of Germany. 1301—End of the line of Arpad and St. Stephen in Hungary. 1306—Murder of Wenzel III., last Premyslide king of Bohemia; succeeded by Rudolf, son of the Emperor Albert; Rudolf dies. 1308—The Emperor Albert slain by his nephew, John. 1315—Defeat of Austria by the Swiss at Morgarten. 1342–1382—Louis of Anjou, "the Great," reigns in Hungary. 1386—Battle of Sempach. 1387—Sigismund, son of Charles of Bohemia, elected King of Hungary. 1396—Defeated by the Turks at Nicopolis. 1410—Sigismund chosen Emperor of Germany. 1415—The Council of Constance condemns Huss. 1419–38—Hussite wars in Bohemia. 1437–56—Victories of Hunyadi over the Turks. 1437—Death of Sigismund; his son-in-law, Albert of Austria, succeeds him as King of Bohemia and Hungary, and unites the crowns to Austria. 1438–49—Albert reigns as Emperor of Germany; his death leaves Bohemia and Hungary to anarchy. 1444—Defeat of Hunyadi and death of the Polish King at Varna. 1453—The Emperor Frederick of Hapsburg makes Austria an archduchy. 1456—Hunyadi's great victory at Belgrade; his death. 1458–90—Reign of Matthias in Hungary.

1477—Wedding of Maximilian to Mary of Burgundy begins the Hapsburg supremacy. 1485—Matthias conquers Austria for Hungary. 1490—Maximilian reconquers Austria. 1496—Maximilian's son Philip marries the heiress of Spain. 1516—Maximilian's grandson Ferdinand marries the princess of Bohemia and Hungary. 1519—His other grandson, Charles V., elected Emperor of Germany. 1526—Defeat of the Hungarians by the Turks at Mohacs; Ferdinand of Hapsburg becomes King of Bohemia and the remnant of Hungary. 1526–1718—Rule of the Turks over much of Hungary. 1529—First siege of Vienna by the Turks. 1532—Turkish invasion checked at Guntz. 1556—Abdication of Charles V.; Ferdinand unites the rule of all central Europe.

1566—Defeat and death of Zrinyi by the Turks. **1618**—Revolt of Bohemia against the Hapsburgs; Thirty Years' War begins. **1620**—Bohemia crushed and reduced to an Austrian province. **1648**—The war ends; loss of most of the Hapsburg power over Germany. **1664**—Great defeat of the Turks at St. Gotthard. **1673**—Leopold I. abolishes the Hungarian constitution; savage revolt in Hungary. **1683**—Turks besiege Vienna; defeated by Sobieski; their last invasion of Austria. **1686**—The Austrians under the Duke of Lorraine recapture Buda. **1687**—The "bloody shambles of Eperies"; second battle of Mohacs. **1697**—Prince Eugene defeats the Turks at Zenta. **1701–14**—War of the Spanish succession; leaves Austria in possession of most of Italy. **1704–11**—Hungarian rebellion. **1711**—Joseph I. pacifies Hungary by the treaty of Szathmar. **1716**—Eugene defeats the Turks at Peterwardein. **1717**—Captures Belgrade; end of the Turkish power in Hungary.

1740—Maria Theresa ascends the Austrian throne. **1741**—Other sovereigns plunder her domains. **1745**—She triumphs everywhere except against Frederick the Great. **1756–63**—Seven Years' War. **1772**—Polish territory seized by Austria. **1780**—Death of Maria Theresa; her son Joseph attempts unwelcome reforms. **1792**—Wars with France begin. **1795**—Final partition of Poland adds to Austrian territory. **1796**—Napoleon conquers Italy. **1797**—He invades Austria; arranges the treaty of Campo Formio by which Austria loses much of Italy but gains Lombardy. **1800**—Austria defeated at Marengo and Hohenlinden. **1801**—Peace of Luneville surrenders Austrian possessions on the Rhine. **1804**—Francis II. assumes the title of Emperor of Austria. **1805**—Austria joins England and Russia against Napoleon; Vienna is captured; Austrians and Russians defeated at Austerlitz; by the Peace of Presburg Austria surrenders Venice to France, and the Tyrol to Bavaria. **1806**—End of the ancient German Empire. **1809**—Renewed war with France; revolt of the Tyrolese; Napoleon recaptures Vienna; Austrian victory at Aspern; defeat at Wagram; Peace of Schonbrunn takes from Austria all her southern coast. **1810**—Marriage of Maria Louise to Napoleon. **1813**—The War of Liberation; Austria acts as leader of allied Europe; her general Schwarzenberg is defeated at Dresden; wins the Battle of the Nations at Leipsic (October 14–19). **1814**—Fall of Napoleon; Congress of Vienna; Metternich its president. **1815**—Austria regains her lost possessions and adopts a repressive policy.

1825—Violent opposition of the Hungarian Diet. **1848**—The Year of Rebellions; uprising in Vienna, Metternich driven to flight (March 13); insurrection in Italy; in Bohemia; representative parliament meets at Vienna (July 22); troubles in Hungary; rioting in Vienna, the Emperor and parliament leave the city in the hands of the people, it is besieged and captured by the Austrian army (October 31); war in Hungary; the Emperor Ferdinand IV.

THE HUNGARIANS MAKE MATTHIAS THEIR KING

resigns in favor of nis nephew, Francis Joseph. **1849**—The Austrian troops capture Pesth; are defeated by the Hungarians under Bem and Gorgei; Francis Joseph dismisses his parliament and proclaims a constitution of his own; Hungary declared a republic under Kossuth (April 14); defeats the Austrians at Gran; crushed by Russian troops; Gorgei surrenders the army (August 13); Comorn capitulates (September 25). **1851**—The Emperor withdraws the constitution (December 31). **1859**—War with Sardinia and France; battles of Magenta and Solferino; surrender of Lombardy. **1861**—A new constitution granted by the Emperor (February 26); Schmerling made minister; dissatisfaction in Hungary and Bohemia. **1863**—Revolt in Poland. **1864**—Austria and Prussia war against Denmark. **1865**—The Schmerling constitution withdrawn. **1866**—War against Prussia and Italy; defeat of Koeniggratz; Austria surrenders Venice to Italy, and withdraws from the German confederation. **1867**—The "Ausgleich" established between Austria and Hungary, making them equal. **1877**—Austria neutral during the Russo-Turkish war. **1878**—Congress of Berlin gives Austria authority over Bosnia and Herzegovina; revolt of these provinces subdued. **1882**—Celebration of the six hundredth anniversary of the Hapsburg power in Austria. **1889**—Death of Archduke Rudolf. **1896**—Electoral reforms favoring the Sclavs cause grave excitement in Austria and Bohemia. **1898**—Assassination of the Empress at Geneva. **1902**—Renewal of the Triple Alliance with Germany and Italy; continued tumult between Germans and Sclavs in the Austrian parliament.

RULERS OF AUSTRIA, HUNGARY, AND BOHEMIA

AUSTRIA.

Margraves.	Dukes.
973—Leopold I.	1156—Henry II., Jasomirgott.
994—Henry I.	1177—Leopold V., the Pious.
1018—Adalbert, the Victorious.	1194—Frederick I.
1056—Ernest, the Valiant.	1198—Leopold VI., the Proud.
1075—Leopold II.	1230—Frederick II., the Warlike.
1096—Leopold III., the Saint.	1246—*Interregnum.*
1136—Leopold IV.	1250—Ottocar of Bohemia.
1141—Henry II., Jasomirgott.	1278—*Interregnum.*

1282—Albert of Hapsburg (*Emperor of Germany*).
1308—Leopold VII. (to 1326).
1308—Frederick III., the Handsome.
1330—Albert II., the Wise.
1358—Rudolf, the Founder.
1365—Albert III.
1395—Albert IV.
1404—Albert V. (*Emperor of Germany*).
1439—Ladislaus, the Posthumous.

ARCHDUKES.

1453—Ladislaus, the Posthumous.

(*All who follow, except Maria Theresa, were Emperors of Germany also, until 1806.*)

1457—Frederick IV.
1493. Maximilian I.
1519—Ferdinand I. (*Emperor in 1556*).
1564—Maximilian II.
1576—Rudolf II.
1612—Matthias.
1619—Ferdinand II.
1637—Ferdinand III.
1657—Leopold I.
1705—Joseph I.
1711—Charles VI.
1740—Maria Theresa.
1780—Joseph II.
1790—Leopold II.
1792—Francis II.

EMPERORS OF AUSTRIA.

1804—Francis II.
1835—Ferdinand IV.
1848—Francis Joseph.

EMPEROR OF AUSTRO-HUNGARY.

1867—Francis Joseph.

HUNGARY.

DUKES.

884—Arpad.
907—Zoltan.
946—Taksony.
972—Geyza.
997—St. Stephen.

KINGS.

1000—St. Stephen.
1038—Peter I.
1046—Andrew I.
1060—Bela I.
1063—Ladislaus, the Saint.
1095—Koloman.
1114—Stephen II.
1131—Bela II., the Blind.
1141—Geyza II.
1161—Stephen III.
1173—Bela III.
1196—Emerich.
1204—Andrew II.
1235—Bela IV.
1270—Stephen IV.
1272—Ladislaus II.
1290—Andrew III. (*last of the Arpads*).
1301—Wenzel, of Bohemia.
1305—Otto, of Bavaria.

EUGENE DISOBEYING THE IMPERIAL ORDERS AT ZENTA

1308—Charles Robert, of Anjou.
1342—Louis the Great, of Anjou.
1382—Sigismund, of Luxemburg.
1437—Albert, of Austria.
1439—Uladislaw, of Poland.
1444—Ladislaus, of Austria.
1457—Matthias Corvinus.
1490—Ladislaus, of Bohemia.
1516—Louis II., of Bohemia.
1526—Ferdinand, of Austria.
(*Since 1526 the rulers of Austria have been Kings of Hungary also.*)

BOHEMIA.

750 (?)—Premysl.

* * * *

925—Vacslav, the Saint.

* * * *

1012—Oldric (*made an Elector of Germany*).
1140—Ladislaus II. (*made a King by Barbarossa*).

* * * *

1198—Ottocar I. (*declared a hereditary and independent King by both Pope and Emperor*).

Independent Kings.

1204—Ottocar I.
1230—Wenzel I.
1253—Ottocar II., the Great.
1278—Wenzel II.
1305—Wenzel III. (*last of the Premyslides*).
1306—Rudolf, of Hapsburg.
1307—Henry, of Carinthia.
1310—John, of Luxemburg.
1346—Charles (*Emperor of Germany*).
1378—Wenzel IV. (*Emperor of Germany*).
1419—Sigismund (*Emperor of Germany*).
1437—Albert, of Austria (*Emperor of Germany*).
1439—Ladislaus, the Posthumous.
1458—George Podiebrad.
1471—Ladislaus, of Poland.
1516—Louis II., of Poland.
1526—Ferdinand, of Austria.
(*Since 1526 the rulers of Austria have been Kings of Bohemia also.*)

PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY FOR AUSTRIA

Adalbert (ăd'ăl-bĕrt)
Arnulf (ahr'nŭlf)
Arpad (ahr'pahd)
Aspern (ahs'pĕrn)
Austerlitz (ows'tĕr-lĭts)
Avar (ah'vär)
Bajazet (bă-jă-zĕt')
Balkan (bahl-kahn')
Belgrade (bĕl-grād')
Bem (bĕm)
Beust, von (fŏn boist)
Bosnia (bŏz'nĭ-ă)
Buda (boo'dŏ)
Capistran (kah-pēs-trahn')
Carinthia (kă-rĭn'thĭ-ă)
Comorn (kō'mŏrn)
Croatia (krō-ā'shĭ-ă)
Cyril (sĭr'ĭl)
Dalmatia (dăl-mā'shĭ-ă)
Deak (dā'ahk).
Eperies (ā-pā'rē-ĕsh')
Geyza (gī'zŏ)
Gorgei (gĕr'gĕ-ē)
Gotthard (gŏt'hart)
Guntz (guēnts)
Haynau (hā-now)
Herzegovina (hĕrt'sĕ-gō-vē'nă)
Hofer (hō'fĕr)
Hunyadi (hoon'yŏd-ē)
Illyria (ĭl-lĭr'ĭ-ă)
Jellachich (yĕl'ah-chich)
Juricsics (yu'rĭ-chich)
Koeniggratz (kĕr'nēhk-rĕts)
Kossuth (kŏsh'oot *or* kŏs-sooth')
Kremsier (krĕm'sēr)
Ladislaus (lăd'ĭs-lawss)
Latour (lah-toor')
Libussa (lĭb-ush'ă)
Lissa (lĭs'să)
Magenta (mah-jĕn'tă)
Magyar (mŏd'yŏr)
Matthias (maht-tē'ăs)
Methodius (mĕ-thō'dĭ-ŭs)
Metternich (mĕt'ĕr-nĭhk)
Mohacs (mō-hahch')
Moravia (mō-rā'vĭ-ă)
Nicopolis (nē-kŏp'ŏ-lĭs)
Nitra (nē-tră)
Oesterreich (est'ĕr-rīk)
Ottocar (ŏt'tō-tsar)
Passau (pahs'sow)
Pesth (pĕsht *or* pĕst)
Peterwardein (pā'tĕr-wahr'dīn)
Podiebrad (pŏd-yĕh'brahd)
Prague (prāg)
Premysl (prĕm'ĭsl)
Rostislav (rōs'tĭ-slahv)
Schmerling (shmer'lĭng)
Schwarzenberg (shwahrt'sĕn-bĕrg)
Sclav (sklahv)
Sigismund (sĭg'ĭs-mund)
Sobieski (sō-be-ĕs'kē)
Solferino (sŏl-fĕr-ē'no)
Solyman (sŏl'ĭ-măn)
Svatopluk (svah'tŏ-plūck)
Szatmar (sŏt'mahr)
Szechenyi (sā'kĕn-yē)
Szigeth (sē'gĕt')
Transsylvania (trăn'sĭl-vā'nĭ-ă)
Tyrol (tĭr'ŏl)
Vacslav (vahk'slav)
Wagram (vah'grahm)
Windischgratz (vēn'dēsh-krets)
Zenta (sĕn'tŏ)
Zoltan (zōl'tŏn)
Zrinyi (zrĭn'yĭ)

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THE BOHEMIAN INSURRECTION OF 1790

BRENNUS CASTING HIS SWORD ON THE SCALES.

MODERN NATIONS—FRANCE

Chapter LXXVI

BRENNUS AND THE ANCIENT GAULS

[*Authorities—General:* Kitchin, "History of France"; Martin, "History of France"; Guizot, "Popular History of France," "Civilization in France"; Crowe, "History of France"; Lacombe, "Short History of the French People"; Michelet, "History of France."—*Special Periods:* Holmes, "Cæsar's Conquest of Gaul"; Godwin, "History of France"; Bulfinch, "Legends of Charlemagne"; Buckle, "Civilization"; De Joinville, "Louis IX."; Froissart, "Chronicles"; Commines, "Memoirs"; Sully, "Memoirs"; Thierry, "History of the Third Estate"; Pardoe, "Louis XIV and the Court of France"; Taine, "Ancient Régime"; Von Sybel, "History of the French Revolution"; Thiers, "History of the French Revolution," "History of the Consulate and Empire"; Lamartine, "History of the Girondists," "Restoration of the French Monarchy"; Carlyle, "French Revolution"; Hugo, "History of a Crime"; Latimer, "France in the Nineteenth Century."]

FRANCE deserves to be ever remembered by the modern world with affectionate gratitude. In the struggle for that independence and equality which have now become the acknowledged right of every man, she has led the way. Her very name means "free," the land of the Franks or "free men." Her people, impulsive, fiery, and intellectual, ever seeking some new line of effort, ever enthusing over some new idea, have repeatedly won and lost advantages, which a slower and steadier world behind has been thankful to accept from them and to preserve.

This remarkable race, as we know it to-day, has been formed by the intermingling of many nations, which have one after another settled in the fair and pleasant land of France. The fire of the race comes from the Gaels; their strength from the Teutons; their intellect from the Romans; and perhaps the shade of melancholy that underlies all this, is the contribution of the ancient Basques.

The mixed blood, scientists tell us, is ever the best blood. The blending of many lines of ancestry, each with its widely varied knowledge and experience of earth, produces the ablest men. In ancient France nation was crowded upon nation, as if in special preparation for the work of civilization destined to their descendants. Viewed in this light, its story becomes one of peculiar and profound interest.

The land has been called France ever since its conquest by the Franks under Clovis, some fourteen hundred years ago. Previous to that it had been known, during an even longer period, by another name, and owned by races totally alien to the Teutonic Franks. It had been Gaul, the land of the Gauls or Gaels.

Far back in the dim morning of the ages, at least sixteen centuries before the Christian era, these Gauls, wandering from the common cradle of the Aryans in Asia, entered France. Even then they found another people, the Basques, already settled there. Before Rome or Athens had an existence, before the famous war of Troy, Gauls and Basques encountered in France's fertile river valleys, and measured their strength against each other in the ever-shifting "struggle for existence." They had no great poet or historian to preserve for us the record of their deeds of heroism. Yet they fought—and fought doubtless with all the unreasoning fury which has ever been the mark of beasts and of savage men.

In the end the defeated Basques retreated to the mountains of the Pyrenees. In those natural strongholds they have ever since remained, preserving to this very day their strangely ancient language and race characteristics, through all the tumultuous changes which have transformed and re-transformed the valleys at their feet.

Among the Gauls themselves we can vaguely trace at least three distinct sub-peoples, signs of three separate waves of humanity, surging into the land, centuries apart. The later comers found their kinsmen already established, and seem to have settled down among them as amicably as well-disposed savages may. The earliest, rudest, and feeblest Gauls dwelt in the south, while through all the central district extended a race sometimes distinguished as the Cimri or Celts. It was the latter who introduced the wild religion of Druidism into Gaul. They were much more advanced in intellect and culture than their southern brethren, and easily converted them from the vague nature-worship of primeval man, which had before been their only faith. In the north of Gaul were the Belgæ or Fir-bolg, stronger, heavier, and fiercer than their kinsmen, having among them perhaps some touch of the Teutonic stock.

Nevertheless, these three sub-peoples were all Gauls; and whatever difference of traits they may originally have shown, they soon mingled and became as one in their common home. We may, therefore, fairly speak of the Gauls as

DRUID-WORSHIP OF ANCIENT GAUL

a single nation, and it is one oddly and strikingly different from all the other races of antiquity.

It is these Gauls, modified perhaps by just a drop of the blood of their Basque foemen, that form the parent stock of the Frenchman of to-day. His characteristics were theirs; and French historians take pleasure in a liberal praising of the Gauls, much as we are apt to do in dwelling on John Smith, of Virginia, or the *Mayflower* colonists.

Of the early Gallic period the chieftain Brennus is the most noted figure. As we read of him standing amid the ruins of the Rome he had destroyed, he is so French in word and act that one wonders whether the race has really changed at all in aught but civilization.

Brennus may be accepted as typical of the Gauls at the zenith of their early power. Slowly they had grown too numerous for France to hold, and were crowding outward, seeking new lands to conquer. One great band of them pushing into Italy under Brennus,* pushed itself into history at the same time. For it is only as the Gauls come in contact with the more civilized Romans and Greeks that we hear anything definitely of what they did and were. Their story has been recorded only by their enemies and conquerors, yet even these admit that they were a brave and mighty people.

Brennus, the Roman legends tell us, warred first against another Italian race, the Etruscans, who, being worsted, applied to Rome for help. When warned by Roman ambassadors not to interfere with the friends of the mighty city, the Gauls gave answer: "We want only lands, which the Etruscans refuse us, though they have more than they can use. We know little of the Romans, but they must be a mighty people since the Etruscans appeal to them for help. Do you Roman envoys remain as spectators of our attack, that you may report at home how far above other nations the Gauls are in battle."

This answer of the Gauls is their first recorded utterance in history, and as such is well worth more than a passing glance. It shows boastfulness of course upon the surface, and vainglory; but are there not even more striking qualities underneath, a shrewdness amid all its childish simplicity, a sense of justice and fairness, and an eminently practical vision for penetrating to the heart of things?

Rome responded in the Roman manner, with haughty disdain; and the hot-tempered Gauls, instantly abandoning their Etruscan war, marched straight upon the insulter. "Our war is only against Rome," they called out to the

* Brennus is what the Romans called him. It seems to be merely their form of the Gaelic word *bran* (chief), with which the Gauls addressed their leader. Doubtless, the *bran* had a name of his own and a family and a life, but all these have perished as completely as if he had never been more than what we know him, a fanciful figure in a Roman legend.

frightened cities along their road; and when they met the Roman army by the banks of the Tiber, they overwhelmed it in one fierce charge.

The Romans fled. Their city was abandoned by its inhabitants in panic terror. When the Gauls swarmed through the open gates, they found only silence and emptiness, and a few aged senators seated in solemn state before the homes from which they would not flee. The simple barbarians were awed. We can imagine how their noisy triumph sank to whispering, before those silent, majestic figures. Then a Gaul reached out his heavy hand to stroke one of the silver beards. The indignant Roman resented the insult with a blow, and the spell was broken. The Gallic fire flashed out again, and the senators were all slain.

The city was laid in ashes. Only the impregnable hill of the Capitol held out against its assailants. You will recall from the story of Rome how it was besieged, and saved by the geese, and ransomed at last with much treasure. When the Romans haggled over the weighing of the gold, Brennus threw his sword into the scales and made them pay for that as well, exclaiming that the conquered must expect to suffer. "*Væ victis*" (woe to the vanquished), he cried; and the menacing words have come down to us through all the ages as one of the most famous of classic quotations.

For seventeen years the Gauls remained ravaging in the neighborhood of Rome, then they withdrew from the exhausted region. A very doubtful Roman legend represents them as defeated. More probably they simply wandered off, seeking new scenes. The high tide of their invasion began to ebb; but they remained permanently settled in all Italy north of the Po River. Another and even mightier horde of Gauls roamed eastward, and a century later we find them, under another Brennus, ravaging Greece, plundering her shrines and cities, and finally passing over into Asia and becoming there a settled nation, the Galatians of the Bible. The outburst from warlike Gaul seems to have been as tremendous, and the wanderings of her reckless tribes as world-wide, as those in which eight centuries later the Germans overthrew the Roman Empire.

Meanwhile, the remnant of the Gallic race in Italy were being slowly driven back in many desperate battles. The Gauls, still in the childhood of civilization, proved in the end no match for the growing manhood of Rome. Steady endurance mastered their fiery but uncertain temper. Yet they made one last great invasion in 225 B.C., and for a moment Rome thought herself doomed to a second desolation.

She was saved by the great battle of Cape Telamon. We are told that in bravado the Gauls threw away their gay-colored clothes, and naked of everything except their loads of jewelry, their collars and chains of gold, their bracelets and their rings, they charged against the fully armored Romans.

THE GAULS IN ROME

But, alas! their tremendous and terrible-looking swords were of such poor metal as to be bent and blunted by the first blow. The Romans no longer fled under that first furious rush, as they had fled before upon the Tiber banks. They withstood it, pressed steadily forward with their short and sturdy swords, and the Gauls' strength was broken. Like their huge blades, which have been so often quoted as symbols of the race, the edge of their courage was dulled; their spirits bent with the failure of that first fierce stroke, and they were conquered.

Within the next three years Rome, crossing the Po River, annexed to herself all of their Italian lands. Cisalpine Gaul (Gaul this side the Alps) became a Roman province, and Rome, grimly resolute, began to peer across the mountain border and plan an attack upon the greater parent land of her savage enemies.

Before, however, she could actually invade Gaul other dangers pressed upon her. Hannibal was thundering at her gates. He summoned the Italian Gauls once more to arms, and it was largely by their aid that he maintained himself so long and gloriously against Rome. Even after the overthrow of the great Carthaginian general, the insurgent Gauls continued the struggle. Rome had to fight them and Greece at the same time; and it is worth noting that while sending only a legion or two against the Greeks, the Roman senate year after year despatched its two main armies and both its Consuls against the barbarian Gauls. Many of these submitted, and with national adaptability became Romans in dress and in thought. It was not, however, until the year 170 B.C. that the last of the insurgents, despairing of victory, but even then refusing submission, emigrated in an immense body to the shores of the Danube. Rome then solemnly declared all Italy "closed against the Gauls."

More important for our present story was the obverse fact which lay behind this proud proclamation. Gaul was open to the Romans. Let us turn, therefore, to look more closely at the land over which the Mistress of the World was about to extend her resistless grip.

The first hint of civilization had come to Gaul, not from the Romans, but from the Phœnicians, who as far back as the year 1200 B.C. traded along her shores. Melkarth, the Phœnician Hercules, the god of travel and of colonies, is represented as exploring Spain, scaling the Pyrenees, penetrating Gaul, and there founding colonies, among which was the city of Nimes. The natives of Gaul brought him garnets, and he drew precious metals from their mines. Once he would have been overcome by their furious attack had not a shower of stones from heaven beaten down his assailants. All that is claimed for Melkarth he doubtless performed, at least by proxy in the persons of his thrifty and adventurous worshippers, the Phœnician merchants. Little trace of them, how-

ever, remains in Gaul. Their power and settlements declined, to be replaced by those of the Greeks.

About the year 600 B.C., legend tells us that Euxenes, a Greek merchant from Phocia, trading along the Mediterranean coast, landed on the Gallic shore. The natives, ever eager for novelty, invited him to attend the marriage feast of their chieftain's daughter, that he might tell them tales of his travels in far lands. Euxenes, having an eye to business, probably consented readily enough; and he acquitted himself so well that at the end of the feast, when according to custom the chief's daughter Gyptis came with a cup of wine to present it to the man she thus accepted as her husband, she offered it, not to her intended bridegroom, but to the travelled stranger!

Imagine the excitement and tumultuous wrath among the friends of the insulted bridegroom. But the venerable chief himself, being an indulgent father, declared the "accident" a sign from heaven, united Gyptis to the stranger, and conferred on him the lands around the bay where he had first touched shore.

Euxenes sent home for his friends, and the colony of Marseilles was formed, destined to be the great seaport of the western Mediterranean, the second city of France in importance, and the only one that can to-day trace back a clearly recorded history for twenty-five hundred years. A century later, Phocia being captured by a tyrant, its citizens emigrated in large numbers to Marseilles, and made it a mighty Grecian city.

Nevertheless, Greek culture never seems to have penetrated far into Gaul. The Marseillese remained foreigners upon its frontier, and were in the end the direct cause of Roman interference there. Quarrelling with some of her neighbors, Marseilles appealed to Rome for aid, and thus, in 154 B.C., the Roman armies entered Gaul.

The scattered tribes were conquered one after another. In 122 B.C., Bituit, the leading Gallic chief of the threatened district, sent an ambassador to the Romans. The envoy appeared, surrounded by a throng of tall and handsome young horsemen, who were gorgeous with gold and purple and many colored plaids. A troop of huge, ferocious dogs, trained by the Gauls to attack their enemies in war, followed behind him, and by his side marched his bard chanting now the glory of the ambassador, now of Bituit, his King, and now of his nation, the Arverni.

Rome, however, was not to be awed by all this display and splendor, and the war continued. Bituit, gathering his forces, met the Romans on the banks of the Rhone. As he saw the close-ranked legions and compared them with his own outspread hordes, the Gaul exclaimed, "Why, this handful of men will scarce serve as a meal for my dogs." It was his last boast. He was defeated, entrapped by treachery, and taken as a captive to Rome. The dominion of the

EUXENES RECEIVING THE CUP OF GYPTIS

conquerors was extended over the region between the Alps and the Rhone, this land being called merely "the Province," whence comes its modern name Provence.

Gradually Rome extended her clutch along the Mediterranean coastline beyond Marseilles, until she was mistress of almost all the southern shore of France. With two Gallic lands thus upon her hands, she named her older Cisalpine possessions in Italy *Gallia Togata*, or Gaul of the Toga, since its people had adopted the Roman costume. Her newer provinces, in which the inhabitants clung to their native dress, she called *Gallia Braccata*, Gaul of the Breeches. Those venerable articles of wearing apparel thus first win recognition in history as the distinctive and peculiar national costume of the Gauls.

The Cimbri and Teutones, who shook Rome to her foundations, wrought even greater destruction upon Gaul. The Teutones were, of course, Germans, but it seems probable that their companions were themselves Gauls, Cimbri being merely another spelling for Cymri. Nevertheless, the Cimbri proved as prompt in the plunder of their kinsmen as of strangers. Rome abandoned completely the defence of her Gallic provinces, thankful that the invaders could be there distracted from herself. After the victories of Marius had exterminated both Cimbri and Teutones, the foundations of the Roman power in Gaul had to be relaid almost entirely.

In southern Gaul this was soon done; but the Romans were still only on the outskirts of the land. They had conquered a few tribes, but the vast seething masses of central and northern Gaul were still unsubdued, until in the year 58 B.C. Cæsar, the greatest of all the Romans, moved against them.

ROMAN STATUE OF "THE DYING GAUL"

CÆSAR'S TROOPS IN GAUL

Chapter LXXVII

THE ROMAN CONQUEST OF GAUL—VERCINGETORIX

NEARLY all that we know of ancient Gaul comes to us from the pen of Julius Cæsar himself. His masterly account of his own Gallic wars is still the bane of school boys and the delight of scholars. Just as Tacitus has become for us the historian of the Germans, Cæsar has become that of the Gauls. Unfortunate nations! whose story descends to us only through their enemies, and in Gaul's case through her conqueror!

Cæsar, pale of face, epileptic, feeble of body, yet the master mind of all antiquity, asked of the Romans that they give him the government of their Gallic provinces for five years. By means of Gaul he became master of the world.

Perhaps, from the preceding chapter, you have already formed your own ideas of the people among whom he went. They were children, changeable as a child is, easily exalted and as easily depressed, vain with a light-hearted self-consciousness which delighted in jewels and beads and bright-colored cloths. They yearned for admiration, and would win it with deeds of the wildest daring. A people intensely curious to see and know, of quick sympathy but vague and slight morality, they would at one moment shed tears over a stranger's suffering, and the next inflict worse upon him with doubly coarse brutality.

They were quick-witted too. Indeed, it has been aptly said of them that the individual was too intelligent for the good of the race. He knew too well when he was beaten; and instead of fighting on with the steady, unshakable

THE HELVETIANS PLANNING THEIR MIGRATION

defiance of the Teuton, preserving his people by his own death, he sought to save himself by flight or by submission.

Yet never was there a race with less real fear of death, could they but find in it some dazzle of spectacular display. The Roman writers assure us that they found many a Gaul ready to commit suicide for any small sum that would purchase wine for his friends. He would assemble these around him, inform them of his purpose; and after they had thanked him and drunk, he would calmly lie down before them and cut his throat.

His religion helped him to this stoicism. The sombre Druid faith taught among many terrible things the single bright one, the immortality of the soul. With such childish simplicity did the Gaul accept this idea that he worried not at all over leaving this first existence. Appointments were made, and even money debts contracted, to be repaid in the life beyond.

Over such childishness it was easy for the crafty Roman generals to win their victories. They had but to make their choice of strong positions amid the hills and morasses and then send an insulting message to the Gauls. The fiery warriors would attack them at once with a reckless fury that soon turned to despair. Let us not then overpraise, though we must admire, the triumphs of the Romans.

When Cæsar entered Gaul, in 58 B.C., he found himself immediately confronted by the Helvetians. These were a Gallic people, living in the mountains which are now Switzerland. Pressed upon by the Germans from behind, the Helvetians, weary of constant war, determined to move through Gaul, to find peace somewhere in the far west, along the Atlantic. They found death instead Cæsar tells us there were three hundred and sixty-eight thousand of them who, having burned behind them their villages and so-called cities, appeared upon the frontier of Roman Gaul at Geneva requesting passage through the Province.

Cæsar, ever great as a "spade-soldier," put them off for a time, and set his soldiers to digging and building huge intrenchments along the Rhone, where the Helvetians must cross. Then, when they came again for his permission, he refused it, and bade them return to their mountains. Still peaceably disposed, they left the Rhone and sought passage by a more northern route through independent Gaul. But Cæsar wanted them back in their mountains as a bulwark against the German tribes. He pursued them, entered into alliance with the Gallic tribes whose territories they were crossing, assailed the unfortunate Helvetians repeatedly, until at last, reduced to less than a third of their original numbers, they threw themselves upon his mercy and at his command went back once more to their uncertain existence amid the mountains.

In this, his first contest, Cæsar had posed as the defender of Gaul against

foreign invasion. In his next struggle, he was enabled to take this attitude even more positively. The German chief Ariovistus had so established his supremacy over a part of eastern Gaul that he considered himself quite as important there as Cæsar. "What right have the Romans in *my* Gaul," he demanded. A pretext for strife was soon found, and Ariovistus and his Germans secured themselves in an intrenched camp. Day after day Cæsar paraded his legions before the intrenchments, defying the Gauls to come out and attack him, while his soldiers shouted insults at the foe. But Ariovistus was not a Gaul, and he held his men immovable behind their defences until Cæsar was forced to make a sudden attack upon them there. The battle was fiercely fought and bloody, but in the end Ariovistus, with only a handful of his followers surviving, fled back to Germany.

Cæsar had come among the Gauls as a protector; but he remained among them and quartered his troops upon them as a conqueror. Their resentment was deep, and several of the northern tribes of Belgæ formed a league against him. A threatening host of Gauls, amounting at length to three hundred thousand men, gathered round his legions. But the able Roman understood the nature of his foes, and by the prospect of booty persuaded other Gauls to attack the homes of the most important tribe allied against him.

Its warriors, learning of the assault on their homes, hurried to defend them, abandoning their quarrel with the Romans. The remaining tribes, gathered against Cæsar, began to slip away also. Soon there was a general scurry from the camp, each party unwilling to be last. Cæsar's cavalry pursued the fugitives and slew thousands, their loss being far heavier than if they had stood against him in battle.

The fleeing tribes were followed to their homes, and submitted to Cæsar one by one—all except the Nervii. These were a half Germanic race living among the swamps and forests of northeastern Gaul. They charged suddenly upon the Romans, while the latter, with armor and weapons laid aside, were building a camp. The assault was almost successful, but Cæsar snatching up a sword threw himself into the thick of the fray, calling his centurians by name to follow him.

For ten hours the battle raged, until at last a reinforcement, arriving for the exhausted Romans, decided the result in their favor. Even then the defeated Nervii refused to flee and fought on behind the barriers of their dead, until only a few hundred survived out of a nation of many thousands.

Cæsar, thus left as the only strong power among the disunited Gauls, many of whom were his allies, soon reduced them all to submission. For three years he marched through forest and swamp, over mountain and plain, now pursuing a tribe to complete extermination, now by a wise mercy attaching another to his

GAULS FLEEING BEFORE THE ADVANCE OF CÆSAR

person, here selling forty-six thousand rebels into slavery among their own compatriots, or again chopping off the two hands of uncounted hundreds and sending them to wander as beggars through the land, as an appalling warning against revolt.

By 55 B.C. all Gaul was a Roman province, Cæsar's province, from the Rhine to the Pyrenees. The Germans interfered, and he crossed the Rhine and chastised them in their own forests. Britain, the chief home of Druidism, had also aided its Gallic kinsmen, so Cæsar penetrated into that island too, won a rather fruitless victory there, and sent British slaves to Rome. At last, in 52 B.C., he himself returned to Rome, to enjoy his well-earned triumph.

Hardly was he out of sight when messengers came flying after him with the news that all Gaul was uniting in a great revolt. This was the last great Gallic struggle for independence. Its hero was Vercingetorix, whose truly Gallic name means the great king of a hundred kings. It is compounded from the tongue of both Gaul and Rome, so that, whether intentionally or not, it really reads "great (Gallic) king of a hundred (Roman) kings." Despite this overwhelming title, Vercingetorix proved a foeman worthy even of the mighty Cæsar. It has been well said of him that with any other opponent he would have stood among the world's foremost heroes. Cæsar first conquered him, and then wrote his story.

Vercingetorix was the most powerful chieftain of Gergovia, the capital of the Arverni. His father had been put to death, charged with aspiring to be king. The young leader had refused, or at least evaded, the proffered friendship of Cæsar himself. Now, supported and encouraged by the Druid priests, he summoned all Gaul to join him in revolt. One by one the oppressed and plundered tribes declared in his favor. Only the ancient Province along the Rhone remained loyal to Rome.

We can imagine with what white wrath Cæsar returned to chastise the land he had thought securely his own. City after city fell before his legions. Unable to meet the Romans in pitched battle, Vercingetorix laid waste the land before their advance, and, hovering near with his cavalry, harassed the enemy's every footstep.

The people supported their young chief with devotion. They destroyed their crops before the Romans' march, and with their own hands set the torch to their hapless villages. Only the townsfolk of Brouges implored Vercingetorix not to destroy "the finest city in Gaul," and promised to defend their walls to the last. The chief yielded, and left the city standing in the midst of its burned and desolated country—left it to be stormed by Cæsar, who put its forty thousand inhabitants to the sword and found there plentiful supplies for his exhausted soldiers.

Gergovia, Vercingetorix' own city, was besieged. It resisted heroically; and so persistent did the attacks of the chief's hovering horsemen become, that the Roman legions began to waver. These skirmishes rose perhaps to the rank of pitched battles, though Cæsar avoids calling them so. In one, almost an entire legion (six thousand men) was exterminated. The siege was abandoned, and Cæsar, with his reduced and demoralized forces, retreated toward the Roman Province.

Vercingetorix's triumph was at its height. He hastened after the Romans, hoping to annihilate them before they passed beyond his reach. Cæsar, however, turned upon his pursuers and defeated them in a hot battle at Longeau. So desperate was the hand-to-hand contest that Cæsar's own sword was wrenched from his grasp, and remained a trophy among the Gauls. The struggle was only decided when a large body of German cavalry, whom the Gauls did not know to be in alliance with Cæsar, suddenly charged upon them. Their poorly ordered lines broke in confusion, and they sought safety in headlong flight.

Vercingetorix, with his position changed in a flash from that of a triumphant conqueror to that of a defeated and distrusted rebel, rose superior to his failure. Rallying the sullen and despairing fugitives, he retreated with them to Alesia, a town of central Gaul, a natural fortress, crowning the summit of a lofty hill. Here the heroic chief once more animated his followers with his own unyielding spirit, and here Cæsar, following him, saw that the final struggle must be fought.

Alesia was too strong to be assailed, so the Roman, resorting once more to his spade tactics, set his army to building powerful intrenchments all around the mountain, and preparing for a starvation siege. Vercingetorix, equally eager for the decisive struggle, ordered his cavalry away. Before the Roman earthworks were completed the Gallic horsemen broke through the barrier at night and spread over all Gaul to summon its warriors to aid their chief. He settled down to await their coming. The "useless mouths," the unfortunate non-combatants within the city, were driven out, and Cæsar refusing them passage they perished between the opposing lines. The great Roman, fully realizing his peril from the escape of the cavalry, set his legions to building a second circle of earthworks, snares, and palisades, outside of and even more extensive than the first. Between these two he also awaited attack.

Soon the besiegers were in their turn besieged. Two hundred and forty-eight thousand Gauls, Cæsar tells us, gathered round his outer defences. He had some sixty thousand Romans, while the force shut with Vercingetorix in Alesia was about equal to that of the Romans. The problem seemed to be who would starve first, but the impetuous Gauls would not wait for this grim solution. They assailed Cæsar from within and without, scaling his earthworks upon each

THE LAST STAND OF THE GAULS—CORREUS

other's shoulders, and tearing at the defences with their naked hands. Again and again they were driven back from the mighty barrier. The struggle lasted for days, ever breaking out in some new place, until at last the outer circle of Gauls, finding their assaults vain, their dead lying everywhere in heaps, gave way to despair and stole silently away.

The fate of Gaul was decided at Alesia. A few final scenes were yet to be enacted, pathetic and very characteristic. Vercingetorix, assembling within the town the survivors of his blockaded followers, now scarce a third their former number, confessed defeat, and offered himself as a sacrifice to save them, if the thing were possible. He sent word to Cæsar, and the next day when all the Romans were drawn up in exultant array, Vercingetorix issued alone from the gates of Alesia, mounted on a superb steed, arrayed in all the splendor that Gallic magnificence could devise. He caracolled hither and thither, displaying his perfect horsemanship, then with a clatter and rush he spurred to Cæsar's very feet, checked his steed abruptly, and leaping to the ground threw down his arms and stood with proud submission awaiting the conqueror's will.

The angry Cæsar saw in him not the patriot, but only the conquered rebel, who had brought him so near to destruction. With a few bitter words, he ordered the prisoner to chains and a dungeon; and Vercingetorix, having after six years of waiting been paraded in a Cæsarean triumph, was slain at Rome. His devotion had, however, saved the remnant of his followers. Cæsar, declaring that these had been misled by the selfish ambition of their chief, permitted them to disperse freely to their homes.

The rebellion still continued in a desultory way. The Bellovaci of northern Gaul took the field under their chief, Correus, but were utterly defeated. Correus, scorning to join them in flight and surrounded by his faithful fighting dogs, remained upon the battleground. He struck down every Roman who approached, until at last the assailants drew off and from a safe distance overwhelmed him with flights of javelins and arrows. With him perished the independence of Gaul.

Cæsar treated the conquered land with a generous leniency, in striking contrast to his former cruelty. Whether from the beginning he had planned this course, or whether it was the result of what he had learned of the Gauls, we do not know. But from this moment he sought by every means to win their friendship, to please and flatter them. When the sword which he had lost at Gergovia was pointed out to him suspended in a temple, "Let it stay there," he said. "It has been sanctified." The Gauls needed only such a brilliant and tactful leader to become invincible, and it was with them rather than the native Romans that Cæsar conquered the world. He recruited the ranks of his soldiers from among them, and even formed a separate Gallic legion, known as

that of the *Alauda*, or lark, from the crest the soldiers bore upon their helmets as a symbol of their alertness.

It was mainly with Gallic troops that he invaded Italy and conquered Pompey. He admitted many of the Gauls to Roman citizenship, and even placed some of them in the Senate. In a sense, Gaul was conquering her conquerors. The haughty Romans protested, but Cæsar continued his course undeterred, and his death found no more honest mourners than among his greatest foes, the Gauls.

VERCINGETORIX